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CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE WAY OF THE WORLD	*Vernon Bartlett*	5
FOREIGN BODIES	*"Floodlight"*	11
NEW YORK, 1927-1937	*Alec Waugh*	15

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CONTENTS—*continued.*

		PAGE
THE LABOUR BATTLE	*Christopher Hollis*	20
ONCE MORE INTO THE BREACH...	*"Reynard"*	27
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH	.. ..	28
IL DUCE—AND ANOTHER		
VOLUNTEERS AND LONDON	*"Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan* ..	30
WHO WANTS WAR?	*"Gazzetta del Popolo," Rome* ..	34
THE SPANISH COCKPIT		
COMMUNIST AIMS	*"Communist International," London*	39
LAND FOR THE PEASANTS	*"Spanish Press Agency," London*	47
FRENCH FINANCE		
THE UNKNOWN CAPITALIST	*"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris* ..	49
FEEDING THE BITING DOG	*"Le Mutilé de l'Algérie, Algiers* ..	50

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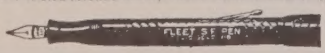

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CONTENTS—*continued.*

		PAGE
AMERICA KEEPS OUT		
KEEPING OUT OF EUROPE	*"New Republic," New York* ..	53
NOT WORTH WAR	*"World Affairs Interpreter," Los Angeles*	60
THE FEMALE AND THE SPECIE	*"The Rotarian," Chicago* ..	62
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	.. ..	66
INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF	*Reviews by George Martelli, Sir Roger Chance, Aylmer Vallance, W. Horsfall Carter*	67
TRAVEL		
THE TALE OF A DESERT	*Harrison Brown*	73
FINANCE		
PROSPECTS OF MARKET RECOVERY	*"Rapier"*	77
DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS	.. ..	79

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

Possible War but Probable Peace

"COMPARED with Stanley Baldwin," said a famous politician at a private dinner the other night, "Machiavelli was just a clowning simpleton." Certainly Lord Baldwin's successor at Number Ten has none of the political subtlety which was hidden behind the famous pipe and the pose of rough and simple British honesty. But Mr. Neville Chamberlain is acting with a vigorous directness which is very refreshing to those of us who hold that the greatest Empire in the world should not timorously avoid the acceptance of even the smallest responsibilities for the future of that erratic globe.

There have been moments during the past month when there was almost a probability of war. Europe has come through them a little more confident of peace. I have never believed reports of a fundamental divergence of views between Mr. Eden (alleged to be "pro-French") and Mr. Chamberlain (alleged to be "pro-German"). On the contrary, they worked in cordial collaboration during the Abyssinian crisis and that collaboration is still maintained. It is one of the principal reasons why Europe has regained a little self-confidence.

Since the Spanish struggle began, this REVIEW—or that section of it in which the Editor has his little and often unpopular say—has emphasised two points. One was that the Italian and German intervention in Spain amounted to a grave threat to the British Empire. The other was that Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler would help General Franco as long as Mr. Eden and M. Delbos merely said how nice it would be if they refrained from doing so. Very late in the day those strange patriots whose interest in Imperial communications is less than their panic of the Bolshevik bogey have begun to wake up. They wonder whether Signor Mussolini's increasingly threatening attitude in the Mediterranean and Herr Hitler's claim that he has supported General Franco because he wanted Spanish iron which has hitherto come to Britain are not, after all, greater dangers than a mythical "Red Spain" organised by Russians who can scarcely keep their own show going in their own country.

The Bluff is Called

Mr. Neville Chamberlain has shown a good deal more reluctance than his predecessor to continue the pilgrimage of humiliation planned for the British Empire by those totalitarian States which, not unnaturally, are most jealous of it. The reactions of Europe since the "Leipzig" incident should encourage him still more to resist that passion for surrender which one or two of his colleagues seem to share with members of an ancient profession. For very few diplomats believe that the story of the attempts against the "Leipzig" was anything more than a plot to turn the Non-Intervention Agreement yet more to General Franco's advantage.

If Italy and Germany are to win their war before the winter, the granting of belligerent rights to General Franco is very important to them and they did their best to make it sound a reasonable substitute for the naval patrol scheme after its destruction by the withdrawal of their warships. Probably this new surrender would have been made had Lord Baldwin still been in office. Instead, the British and the French proposed an honest alternative scheme which put upon them the cost and risk of patrolling all the coasts of Spain but gave the Germans and the Italians the right to have their observers on every ship to assure fair play. And when even that scheme was

rejected from Berlin and Rome the British Government at last lost patience. There must be, it declared, full control or the policy of non-intervention would go.

At once there came from the most unexpected quarters the most unexceptionable assurances that non-intervention was a swell idea. The Duce forgot his boasts in the *Popolo d'Italia** that his country had not been neutral in Spain and assured us all that he was a fervent supporter of neutrality. Baron von Neurath in Berlin was just as anxious to dispel any doubts about German sincerity. The anxiety of the Press in almost every country to rid its Government of all responsibility for a breakdown was the most encouraging evidence that none of these Governments was in fact prepared to fight.

If that first general display of caution and conciliation has not been maintained it is only because Neville Chamberlain is not so experienced a player of political poker as Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. They began to doubt not the cards in his hand (for he holds nearly every ace) but his courage to play them at the right moment. It is too soon to say whether they are justified in their scepticism. All that one can say is that the majority of European Governments made it as plain as they possibly could that they welcomed British resistance in the belief that, although it temporarily accentuated the crisis, it would ultimately reduce the danger of war.

Vindication of Whitehall

Modesty is doubtless a fine quality and British subjects are seldom credited with it except by themselves. But there are times when one would welcome a little desk-thumping, loud-speaking conceit. During a recent visit to Sweden I was amazed by the number of people who assured me Mr. Anthony Eden was a sick man because he appeared to have lost all his self-confidence. There is in most European capitals a mingled distrust and distress that a government so strong as the British should be playing so small a part in world affairs. England, the argument runs, must be either decadent or up to some very shady work.

Two developments of the last few weeks should destroy at least the decadence theory. The decision of Congress Party in India to work for reforms by constitutional methods and the reaction on Arab

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* The article is reprinted on p. 30

and Jewish opinion of the Palestine Report both suggest that the British have not yet lost that art of compromise which is the secret of successful politics and one of the attributes of a great nation. It is impossible to be enthusiastic about progress that is slow but steady, and yet for people involved in it it is so much less uncomfortable than the progress by jerks which is the most sensational feature of dictatorships.

The British Government may conceivably even be right about Spain. As one who has felt very bitterly about the indirect aid which British-bred non-intervention has given to General Franco, I shall nevertheless take off my hat with deep respect to Mr. Eden if his calculation should prove correct that the Spanish rebels will, at the end of their war, have no greater ambition in foreign affairs than to turn out of their country every Italian and German who helped them. This would be an impressive justification of the British policy of patient non-resistance even though it would have been wiser not to wait until the civil war had been going on for twelve months before we made it clear that we would allow no change in the status of the Western Mediterranean.

In any case there is some revival of confidence in Great Britain, and a consequent hesitation on the part of the bluffers. They no longer know how far they can venture without involving themselves in risks they are as anxious as we are to avoid. Never forget that Mussolini knows the surest way to lose his job, that Hitler knows the surest way to bring to Germany that Communism he so fears, it is to become involved in a major struggle. They have to carry on their fighting behind a pretence of non-intervention in somebody else's civil war.

Why Tukachevsky Died

Another thing. Despite all this talk about war against Russia neither Hitler nor Mussolini will ever declare it. A Russo-German alliance is far more probable than a Russo-German war, and indeed the reason for Stalin's death sentence on Marshal Tukachevsky and other Soviet leaders is that several Russian and German Generals had got their heads together to prepare that alliance. These death sentence will obviously check the Germanophile tendencies in Russia for some time to come, and in Germany they have given a fresh im-

pulse to the fanatics in the Nazi party—those Reichswehr officers who were carrying on this Russian flirtation have very naturally lost caste in proportion to the number of their Russian fellow-conspirators who have lost their lives.

But even with this new obstacle to better Russo-German relations it remains certain that Herr Hitler will not sanction an attack on Russia. If he wants that union of public opinion which is as important in warfare as the steady supply of munitions he must avoid an open quarrel with the one nation whose name still has a romantic appeal for all those Germans who used to vote Communist and for many who used to vote Socialist. He must choose an enemy whose possessions are so great and whose traditions are so conservative that they arouse both the envy of the political right and the resentment of the political left.

Such an enemy would be Great Britain. And yet there is no grave reason for the British people to fear war with the Germans. For the dangerous temptation to believe that Great Britain is hopelessly decadent and weak is disappearing with each month of rearmament and with each affirmation that Germany and Italy cannot be allowed to have it all their own way in Spain. God knows there are still enough crises in store to turn Mr. Eden white-haired before he reaches the age of forty-five, but I, for one, believe the worst of them are passed. That is, I know, a rash statement, for nobody can foresee the reactions of those spoilt children we call dictators. It becomes more and more difficult to tell Herr Hitler anything unpleasant and he was so upset by the sight of the "Deutschland" coffins that, I believe, nobody dared tell him of the "Leipzig" incident until two days after it was known to some people in Berlin. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the Fuehrer or the Duce are about to go to war.

Hope for the Holidays

Those of us who make a living out of international politics are apt to exaggerate the importance of the speech of this foreign minister or the fulminations of that foreign editor. With the best will in the world, we come to think of nations as individuals and to forget the vast number of threads of different hue and texture that are to be found in the make-up even of totalitarian States. Many subscribers

to this REVIEW will read this article—if they read it at all—in some Bavarian mountain village, on the shore of some Austrian lake, outside some café on a French cathedral square, or overlooking the incredible blue of the Mediterranean. They will meet friendly, simple, people, as honest in their desire for peace as anybody could be, and they will wisely remind themselves that Italy and Mussolini, Germany and Hitler, France and Delbos are not interchangeable nouns.

The truth, I think, is that with the passage of each uneasy month the official organisation of peace which we established with such effort and hope in the welter of hatred and greed known as the Paris Peace Conference becomes weaker. Mr. Eden seldom finds it worth while nowadays to refer in his speeches to the League of Nations of which he was once so valiant a defender. But side by side with that fading official hope marches a growing and very healthy public scepticism.

These statesmen, one must admit, are earnest and terribly hard-working, but more than earnestness and industry are needed if we are to break the shackles of the tradition that there must always be war because there has always been war. The foreign ministers and the newspapers that write about them become involved in such political complications that they look upon individuals with the same callous and erroneous contempt for human feelings that is shown by some nurses in hospitals and some statisticians in government offices.

And the individual, month by month, loses the conviction that anything is to be gained by war. Propaganda in totalitarian States might drive him into it but he would go with despair, and not with hope, in his heart. The Spanish problem, the aggravating exaggerations of the dictators, the financial difficulties of France, the spinelessness of our democrats—they are all, in their way, so much more ephemeral than the may-fly that, year after year, drive the trout to such orgies of greed on swift, dark English streams, than the recurrent miracle of each breaking wave, than the swaying of the corn before the summer breeze. These things go on, but crises pass, and all the sooner if enough of us in every country can see them in their true perspective against a background of decent, patient effort of mankind to get more joy and beauty out of life, to put more kindliness and tolerance into it.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

The "Chautemps tribe"

IT is rare for Rugby internationals to become Prime Ministers. M. Camille Chautemps, who has succeeded to M. Blum's uneasy chair in France, is one of the exceptions. But then he belongs to a great parliamentary family, with roots in Savoy, in Touraine and in Paris.

The father of the new Prime Minister, M. Emile Chautemps, was at one time a minister and Vice-President of the Chamber. His uncle Alphonse sits in the Senate, and his brothers Maurice and Felix were respectively sub-prefect of a department and deputy for Albertville before they were killed in the war.

Felix Chautemps is credited with an amusing repartee before leaving for the Front. An adversary in the Chamber had been hurling epithets at what he described as the "Chautemps tribe." The next day, Felix, who was wearing uniform, accosted him in the lobby as follows: "Look out, my friend, the Chautemps tribe are going to war."

The "Bleu Horizon" Chamber

Chautemps, who is only 42, started his career as a lawyer. At the early age of 19 he was sworn in before the Paris courts and two years later became secretary to Maitre Bernard of the Tours bar. The next few years saw him in the forefront of all the political squabbles in the Indre-et-Loire department. In 1914 he was mobilised, but soon afterwards had to be discharged owing to a serious illness from which he still suffers.

At the end of the war he was elected Mayor of Tours and went to Paris as a deputy in the "bleu horizon" Chamber. His small

voice upheld against the myth that Germany could be squeezed to the last farthing was drowned in the general outcry, and it was not until Herriot formed the Cartel des Gauches Government six years later that he came into prominence as Minister of the Interior.

Emerging from the Scrum

After failing to form a Cabinet in 1930, he was not in office again until the Herriot government fell two years later over the repayment of war debts to America. That autumn he became Minister of the Interior again and finally Prime Minister after Daladier had succumbed to the financial problem.

His determination, in spite of a fragile appearance, brought him success where his predecessors had failed. Moderate in views, he was firm in action. He was insistent that, for parliament to remain independent, patriotic societies such as the Jeunesses Patriotes had to be dissolved. When the students struck against an alleged political appointment at the Sorbonne, he threatened to make use of tanks to repress them.

Offside!

But the hasty succession of Governments had already undermined public confidence and the Stavisky scandal was the last straw. Chautemps hung on as long as he could with a tenacity which won a personal tribute from the Chamber. But the scandal touched too many of his associates and he had to resign.

Pleading without Tears

Chautemps is a good speaker but above all a good dialectician. His oratory has been likened to Cicero's for its conciseness, its well-knit arguments and absence of pathos. During his career at the bar, he only appeared in one big criminal case, in which he defended a man accused of murder. After the acquittal, the public prosecutor made the following comment on Chautemps' conduct of the case : " If a specialist in criminal work had been in his place, the jury might have cried, but Barathaud would have been guillotined. During Maitre Chautemps' defence, the jury did not shed a tear, but Barathaud's life was saved."

The Spanish war, 73 communist supporters, an empty treasury, and the problem of increasing production in the teeth of the 40-hour

week are already keeping Chautemps' hands full. But the slight swing to the right which his acceptance of office means should help him to gain a hearing among the hitherto mistrustful " rentiers."

Messengers of the God

The *Führer* has three principal emissaries : General Goering for pomp and display ; Herr von Ribbentrop for confidential missions ; Baron Constantin von Neurath for soothing the fevered pulse. An Englishman once said in Bismarck's day that a Prussian diplomat was a man who "swore, rode and wore top-boots." Neurath has the advantage of coming from Wurttemberg and not from Prussia.

The study of law at the university of Tübingen gave him early a quickness of mind which has been much appreciated in all his diplomatic posts. He was 28 before he gave up the law for diplomacy. Soon afterwards he was sent to London as vice-consul and, being a man of means, entertained on the lavish scale appropriate to the Edwardian era. This formed the basis of his future popularity as ambassador when he returned to London in 1930.

Learning the Serpent's Cunning

A few years later he was recalled to Berlin in the capacity of " Hilfearbeiter," a kind of technical specialist, and joined the personal staff of the Foreign Minister, von Bülow—another lesson in adaptability. But his most important task before the war arose out of his appointment as counsellor at the Germany Embassy in Constantinople. His business was to convince Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey of the advantage to Turkey of siding with Germany. History witnesses to his success.

Meets Mussolini

After winning the Iron Cross in the early stages of the war, he was summoned by the King of Wurttemberg to become head of his civil cabinet. In 1919 he returned to diplomacy as Minister at Copenhagen, where he showed great tact in dealing with the thorny question of Schleswig. His next appointment was as ambassador in Rome, where he became a personal friend of Mussolini and, as a Catholic, is reputed to have had an important backstair influence in the framing of the Lateran Treaty. The Berlin-Rome axis (or " axle " as a Tokio newspaper recently called it) owes much to his preliminary spadework.

Shocks versus Subtlety

After two years as ambassador in London, he entered von Papen's cabinet as Foreign Minister. His friendship with Hindenburg secured him protection during the Nazi upheaval, but, although he remained in office, the new shock tactics soon displaced his more staid methods.

There is no doubt that Neurath, who in his leisure is fond of the open air, of shooting and mountaineering, is the best calculated of Hitler's lieutenants to make a good impression in London, if his postponed visit ever comes off. Unfortunately, ever since Ribbentrop established a rival office on the other side of the Wilhelmstrasse, foreign governments have looked on Neurath as amiable rather than influential.

Japan First

Koki Hirota, ardent nationalist and student of Confucianism, is once again Foreign Minister in Tokio. As a small boy he came under the influence of the veteran reactionary, Mitsuru Toyama, leader of the " Genyosha," the movement which fought the " unequal treaties " and the principle of extra territoriality. Toyama paid for the boy's schooling and finally sent him to the Tokio Imperial University.

His early interest in politics turned to foreign affairs and 28 years of his life were spent in diplomacy before he succeeded Baron Uchida as Foreign Minister. One of the most necessary qualifications for this post in Japan is a knowledge of China. Hirota spent the period following the Chinese revolution in Peking and was on intimate terms with Dr. Sun Yat-sen. For all his nationalism, he appreciates the culture of other countries and has to the full the Japanese respect for Chinese learning.

Leaving the League

After serving in Washington and then as Minister in Holland, he was appointed ambassador in Moscow where he had to negotiate the difficult question of the Japanese-Soviet fisheries. As Foreign Minister, he was responsible for the Imperial Rescript issued after the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations. This showed that, in spite of his strong line over Manchukuo, he did not intend to shut the door on collaboration with other countries.

THE OPEN FORUM

NEW YORK, 1927-1937

by ALEC WAUGH

Mr. Waugh describes the succession of Boom, Depression and New Boom, with their social implications

WHEN I went to New York for the first time, a boom was just beginning. Americans laughed if you talked of gilt-edged securities and five per cent. Thirty per cent. they said was the interest you should look for from a safe investment. Not that they believed in loaning out their money that way. It was a mug's game surely when you could double your capital in six weeks upon the market. There was no unemployment. They spoke contemptuously of our " Dole " system. They drew parallels with the last days of the Roman Empire—the proletariat clamouring for bread and games. Income tax was so low that it only concerned the very rich, who were mildly indignant over it, arguing that it was against the original Constitution. The State, they maintained, should pay dividends to its citizens.

That was in the spring of 1927. In the autumn of 1928 Herbert Hoover was sent to the White House for another four years' prosperity. Nobody talked of investing money then. The word " gilt-edged " was banished from the lexicon. Garet Garett was writing a series of articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled " The American Book of Wonder " to explain how modern American civilisation had unearthed the Philosopher's Stone. It was not just a question of business booming, of stock market prices rocketing day after day to new high levels. It was more than that. A formula had been discovered, a formula for permanent prosperity. High wages was the key. Increase purchasing power, increase output : buy more, produce more. Raise the workman's wages so that he can buy, on the instalment plan, better radios and bigger cars. It was a system of perpetual motion. Bankers, industrialists, politicians declared its infallibility.

Within twenty months there were bread lines in Times Square.

A New Boom

Today there is a new boom starting in America, just as there is a new boom starting here, in England. During the last ten years the graph of English fortunes has followed with minor variations the same curve as the American: but on a different plane. In America it was all on a larger scale. The boom was noisier and more spectacular: the slump more sudden and precipitate: the gloom deeper and more desperate, the recovery more resolute and more ruthless: in the last analysis more gallant. A foreigner visiting England every ten or twelve months during the last ten years would not have felt that each separate visit was paid to a different country: or rather he would not have felt that the lives of his friends were spent in a "headline" atmosphere, governed and determined by the price of wheat and steel, by the vacillations of the tape-machine.

On the surface the life of the average English family has continued on an even keel. There have been differences, admittedly. London restaurants might have been as crowded in the autumn of 1931 as they are today. But whereas today champagne is being drunk at practically every table, you would then have seen gin and whisky at table after table. There were such differences of surface economics; but the general temper of life remained the same. Certainly the Englishman looking back over the last ten years would not be able to date years and months by specific public events that affected his private life. An American would. To what indeed but that national capacity to date the whole life of a people month by month is due the charm and appeal of Richard Sherman's *To Mary With Love*. There is all the difference in the world between Frederic Allen's *Only Yesterday* and John Collier and Iain Lang's *Just the Other Day* which was written in acknowledged imitation. Allen had to tell a dramatic, consecutive story, working to a climax. The English book is a group of chapters. There is not to anything like the same extent a common denominator determining the course and character of English life.

The Speakeasy Period

I spent in New York a large part of the summer of 1930 and the whole winter of 1930-31. In retrospect those months seem less a

story of things done and people met than a chapter in the epic of the depression. Sooner or later every conversation came back to that. Every decision, every plan for the future, hinged on that. At first no one could believe that it had really happened. There was talk of " prosperity being round the corner," of " the fundamental soundness of the market." Then winter came, with bread lines in Times Square, crates of five-cent apples at the corner of every second block. People began to talk of " prosperity being round the corner " with the same sneer that in the war soldiers had talked of " peace by Christmas." The toll of the unemployed grew higher ; the stock market touched all-time low levels. A machine was running down. No one knew what to do. One sat around waiting for a miracle to happen : for a new formula to be found. It was the tag-end of prohibition : the liquor business was well established. The days of wood-alcohol were over. There was good liquor to be had in plenty. But Scotch as a regular diet was beyond most purses. One sat in warm speakeasies in brown-stone houses growing alternatively maudlin and despondent over gin. Claud Cockburn who knows the America and particularly the New York of that period—the "Butterfield 8 " period—better than any Englishman I know, used to talk of the vicious circles of the gin depression. Because of the depression no one could afford anything but gin, and gin made everyone so despondent that no one had the energy to get out of the depression.

Henry F. Pringle, in an article in last month's *Scribners*, talked wistfully of the depression. Things were nicer then he said : manners were simpler, people friendlier : you weren't high-hatted in restaurants for wearing soft collars in the evening : shop girls didn't turn up their noses if you asked to " see something cheaper " : your friends were not too busy to talk to you when you rang them up. And there is that side of course. Those years *were* lit with the kinship of shipwrecked sailors. But I have never known any atmosphere more depressing than the listless defeatism of 1932. It was like a studio party at four o'clock, when the air is full of smoke, faces have begun to drop, flowers are curling limply, when every ash tray is full of cigarette ends ; conversation is aimless and disjointed : the party has died upon itself. There is nothing to be done but get the room empty, open the windows, start afresh.

Back to "Success"

The change came almost in an afternoon, as suddenly as the slump had come, when Roosevelt went to the White House.

By the spring of 1934 New York was a changed city. It wasn't just that prohibition had gone, that the heads of goats were announcing: "Bock beer is here," that window after window was decorated with the N.R.A. Blue Eagle, that the newspapers had become unintelligible for the foreigner with alphabetical abbreviations: the A.A.A., the C.W.A., the P.W.A.: that the dollar was off gold, fluctuating to the pound and franc. There were those differences, but they were surface differences. The chief change was one of spirit. The old vitality, the old enthusiasm were back. The "success" story was true again. The stage was set for another boom.

Now that the boom has come, it is pertinent to compare its difference with that of '27. By such a comparison we can understand better than we could otherwise the difference between our own two booms, that of today and that of yesterday. On the surface they seem much alike. There are the same symptoms of crowded restaurants, smart clothes, gay shops. But in spirit there is a vast difference. The old excitement may be back. But the old confidence is gone. There is no talk of the Philosopher's Stone. There is no more laughing at the "dole." Unemployment figures have only been cut by the expedient—doubtful in many eyes—of national relief work. There is no longer any talk of the States paying dividends. When I was there last in March, sooner or later every conversation reached the question point: "Have you made out your tax return?"

There is no fond faith in formulas. No one believes that the boom is permanent. *Cosmopolitan* ran an article this spring on the next depression, prophesying it for the early '40's: suggesting this and that precaution. It is a much pleasanter, much friendlier boom in consequence. There is a general feeling of "We've got a lucky break: let's make the most of it." Money is spent freely before it is taken away in taxes and currency devaluations. There is still a "we're all in the same boat" feeling. There is also to take the place of the old confidence, a ruthless reliance upon self: a new individualism: a resolve not to be fooled again, by the bankers, the industrialists, the politicians.

There is a not dissimilar feeling here. Our boom in 1927 was based, to somewhat the same extent, on a belief that the boom was permanent. England was in a complacent mood. The general strike was settled. European harmony had been achieved. It looked as though we had " settled down " after the war. No one could believe that now. We are enjoying, and know ourselves to be enjoying, a brief moment of sunshine while the thunderclouds form over the hill.

The American Climate

I suggested a paragraph back that a study of the American boom today would help us to understand the nature of our own boom here. I think that always by studying American conditions, we have our own position explained to us. The signs are written there in larger lettering. There are those who will argue that during the last ten years Americans and particularly New Yorkers ricochetted from one exaggerated emotional condition to another. But it is those who are unfamiliar with the idiom of American life who argue in that way. The American scene, the American temperament, more than anything the American climate, inevitably set the stage for limelight and melodrama. We enjoy, or at least endure, what is called a temperate climate. In New York there are only periods of extremes. In March the streets are rutted with frozen snow. The atmosphere is so arctic that when you shake hands after stepping out of the streets into a steam-heated drawing room you get an electric shock. In June the restaurants will be air-cooled : the streets like the Sahara. It is inevitable that such a climate should produce those violent extremes : extremes that provide for the visitor much of the charm that makes New York so fascinating and so loved a city : extremes that provide also for the sociologist much valuable material. He can discern there changes that in a less dramatic atmosphere would be unapparent. In the same way that you can get no accurate idea of the time by watching the sun, that the hand of a clock is needed to record the minute movements of a spring, an English student of New York life during the last ten years will have got a clearer idea of what has been happening in his own country than he would have done by remaining all the time in London. To the Englishman who finds himself puzzled for a diagnosis of conditions here, I should suggest " Spend two months in New York. You'll probably know then what *we're* about."

THE LABOUR BATTLE
Why It Has Come

by CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

Most of the news of the big movement in progress in American industry is confined abroad to reports of bloody clashes between strikers and police. The background and real significance of this new social development is explained here by the author of "Foreigners Aren't Fools" and "We Aren't so Dumb," who has been investigating conditions on the other side of the Atlantic

THE Trades Unions in America have been until recently extremely weak. For that weakness there has been a number of causes, but the chief of them undoubtedly is the frontier. Until the end of the last century America still had her unfilled frontier. This meant that the worker in the factory had a real alternative, if he was not offered conditions to his liking; he could go West where the Government would give him free land of his own. As a result the language of a free bargain between man and man, in which the old utilitarians used to describe the wage contract, still preserved a meaning in the United States for some fifty years after it had ceased to correspond to reality in this country.

Also there was a further influence making for high wages in the United States. The country could only develop with the aid of immigrant labour, and clearly there would have been no inducement to migrate to the United States, if the wages offered there had been no higher than those of Europe.

Therefore until recently unionism in America has been very weak. Employers have been able to preserve the "open shop"—i.e. to exclude union labour from their factories. They have been able to do this not because they were more "reactionary" than employers in England or elsewhere. There are plenty of employers in England who would have been only too glad to defy the unions had they been able to do so. Fundamentally, in America the unions have been weak because there has been little demand from labour to make them strong. And there has been little demand because in the years of the country's development the American working-man never thought of himself

Wide World Photo

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, at the microphone

as destined to continue for ever a working-man. He had a millionaire's cheque-book in his tool-box. He told himself that he was merely taking a job temporarily and on the way to becoming himself a master. And therefore he had no wish to make too strong weapons which might one day be turned against himself. It is doubtless true that even in America only a very small proportion of working men ever achieved the ambition of getting to the top of the tree, but all had the ambition.

Union Leaders in Dinner Jackets

Therefore unionism in general was weak and what unionism there was differed, it is most important to understand, from the unionism of England or of European countries. Such men as the late Mr. Gompers, Mr. Green or the other officials of the American Federation of Labour have always set their faces against the establish-

ment of a political Labour Party. They have earned reputations for conspicuous moderation. In a country where the dinner jacket is less popular than it is here, they are seen in a dinner jacket a great deal more frequently than are most British trades union officials.

But the contrasts are even deeper than that. Unlike the European Labour movements, the American Federation of Labour never pretended, or seriously sought, to represent all labour. It was, almost frankly, merely the representative of skilled labour, and the task which it set itself, that of obtaining as large a wage as possible for the skilled labourer. Without accusing its leaders of any especial ruthlessness, it is yet, I think, not unfair to say that it has been of little concern to them whether the skilled man's increases have been obtained at the expense of capital or at that of the unskilled labourer. To the majority of the working-class the unions, as they have hitherto existed, have been objects of, at the best, indifference, and often even of hostility.

Now within the last generation the two peculiar conditions which were responsible for the backwardness of American unionism have been eliminated. The frontier has been closed and immigration has been restricted. Once we understand that, we can understand how such a movement as that of Mr. Lewis, head of the Committee of Industrial Organisation, was more or less inevitable, and its substantial victory in the opinion of most people, I fancy, desirable, but, whether desirable or not, again, at least, inevitable.

Bargaining without Bloodshed

It is on such calculations that the policy both of the Administration and of the more enlightened of employers is based. Convinced that it is not possible, even if it were desirable, to prevent unionism proper from establishing itself, they are anxious that it should establish itself without bloodshed or with as little bloodshed as possible. So far they have been, on the whole, successful. There have been, it is true, acts of violence, but, if we make allowance for the traditional lawlessness of American life, it is remarkable that there have been so few. The Supreme Court's validation of the Wagner Act has removed any possibility of constitutional obstacle to the principle of collective bargaining. The principle won, it has next been the object of the Administration to see to it that the result of the collective bargain

Wide World Photo

THE BIG THREE IN STEEL
William A. Irvin, president of U.S. Steel; Eugene G. Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel; and Tom Girdler, president of Republic Steel

should be to bring some substantial additions to the payroll of the men. It is not merely out of a humanitarian consideration for the men that such increases are desired. They are necessary if the dislocation of the whole productive machine is to be avoided. American industry, even more than the industry of other modern countries, throws on to its markets in enormous quantities the sort of article of which most people want one or two and nobody wants very many. Therefore its product can only be sold if there is some approximation to an equal distribution of income throughout society, and, in a period of increasing productivity, it is of vital importance that the incomes of the masses should be increasing at a proportionate rate.

It is possible that a dictatorship might have merely imposed such wage increases on industry. But, if in the general interests of freedom it was thought better—as it was thought better in the United States—to allow the wage rates to be settled by free bargaining, then

it would have been too much to hope that employers and union leaders would on all occasions show themselves entirely reasonable. It was obviously necessary to be prepared for a certain amount of friction as the inevitable price of freedom. And such a price has had to be paid. A share of the responsibility for it must certainly be borne by Mr. Lewis. Mr. Lewis, even though he be right in his main stand, is undoubtedly a man of very considerable personal ambition, and I think that there is little doubt that he feels that he has got to keep the headlines, or somebody else may steal from him the leadership of the incipient labour movement. Such a personality is not an assistance to tranquillity. A high proportion of the strikes have not been really struggles between the men and their employers at all ; they have in reality been struggles between Mr. Lewis's and Mr. Green's organisations for the right to represent the men.

Employers' Tactics

Then again employers must bear a share of responsibility for the trouble. On the one hand there have been the short-sighted employers who refused to grant legitimate wage-demands and have had to have concessions forced out of them. On the other hand there have been employers, such as those in the steel industry, who a little bit prided themselves on their superior astuteness and whose share in the responsibility for these troubles is probably larger than that of the merely simple and short-sighted. The vigour of demand varies greatly between one industry and another, and at a time of prosperity there are always some industries whose products are so greatly in demand that they will find buyers, whatever the price. At the beginning of this year the steel-masters, what between European re-armament and American rehousing, were in this position. They thought that there was no reason why they should be bothered with labour troubles. They could buy off the men by gaily making to them any concessions that might be demanded, confident that it would cost them nothing, because they could charge it all up to the consumer in increased price.

The trouble about such tactics is that it creates insuperable difficulties for the employers in other industries who are manufacturing a product for which the demand is far from unlimited. The workmen in such industries say : " If wages in steel are so high, why should not

"Our biggest trouble, of course, is these ghastly sit-downs"

"New Masses,' New York

"Okay, Roberts, right side up it's constitutional, wrong side up it aint!"

"New Masses," New York

we get as much?" While the employers, if they make such concessions, cannot market their goods at a price at which the public will buy them. The dilemma is insoluble, and I think that there is no doubt that the steel-masters must bear a large share of the responsibility for the industrial troubles of other industries. That is why there is general delight today that President Roosevelt, by restricting Government demand for steel, has caused a check to its price and why the greater part of the employing interest is eagerly hoping that the steel-masters will be defeated in their present struggle.

A New Relationship

It would have been a miracle had such a great readjustment of relationship been possible without any friction at all, and trouble there has been. There have been in the last months both more strikes and more acts of violence in America than in England. But it would be easy to draw wrong conclusions from that. There is always more physical violence in American life than in British, nor can any great lessons be drawn from the mere number of strikes in America. In America a new social relationship is being hammered out. Nothing similar is happening in England at the moment. There have been more strikes in America because there has been more to strike about. Nor have labour troubles there been sufficient to prevent the steady progress in prosperity of the country.

It is important also not to be confused by talk of communist influence. There doubtless are communists trying to exploit America's labour troubles, just as it is of the essence of the communist creed to attempt to exploit every problem of the so-called "capitalist" society. But the last election showed that only one voter out of every five hundred in America was a communist. And there is no reason to think that even this exiguous minority was drawn especially from the trades unions. Many of them were certainly "parlour Bolsheviks." Mr. Lewis is certainly not a communist nor is Mr. Roosevelt. The problems of American labour must be settled on their merits. It would be disastrous should reasonable solutions be rejected merely because one in five hundred of their supporters happened to be a communist. Such policy would be the one sure way of increasing the influence of the small communist party.

ONCE MORE INTO THE BREACH . . .

When unsportsmanlike dissension nearly wrecked non-intervention
And the Chairman drew attention to the danger of a reef,
He left it to the Netherland to make them get together, and
Invited an Eden formula before they came to grief.

The delegates with gratitude, assumed a trusting attitude,
And Eden took the mandate wider measures to propose ;
While making no apology for either ideology
Once more he conned the pros and cons and probed the cons and pros.

Rebellion reprehensible and breaches indefensible
Combined to make him sensible that something must be waived,
So with realism splendid this is what he recommended—
" Let the practice be suspended and the principle be saved.

" Preserving in totality immaculate neutrality,
To this one concrete reality we hold through thick and thin.
We must recognize disparity and blink irregularity
And hope for solidarity till somebody can win.

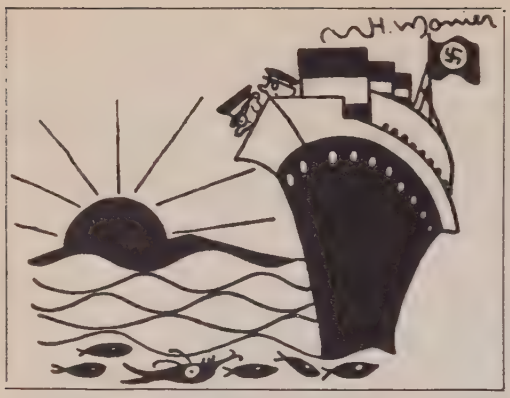
" The best way to improve control is simply to remove control,
While keeping on belligerents a very careful watch ;
Our observers keep in action counting numbers in each faction,
And checking foreign aircraft on their rulers, with a notch."

This compromise, a victory for interests contradictory,
The plenary committee very cordially endorsed ;
All nations gave publicity to Eden's elasticity
Allowing his proposals could be harmlessly enforced.

Then another armed occasion crying out for mediation,
Loaded with congratulation Mr. Eden was released,
For from Tokio and Peking again they begged him to begin again
And arrange non-intervention for the saving of the East.

Reynard.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



"What! A torpedo-fish with the red mullet? Full steam ahead for Almeria!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"To think of attacking peaceful soldiers when there are so many schools and hospitals asking to be bombarded!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

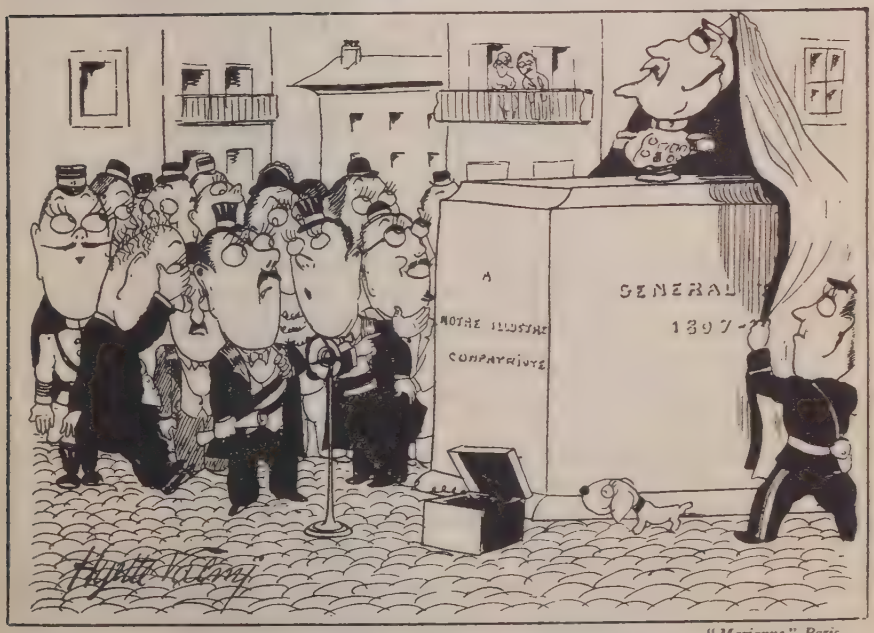
Both (in chorus): "Afterwards I'll have to think how to get rid of this ally!"

"Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

SPAIN IN FLAMES

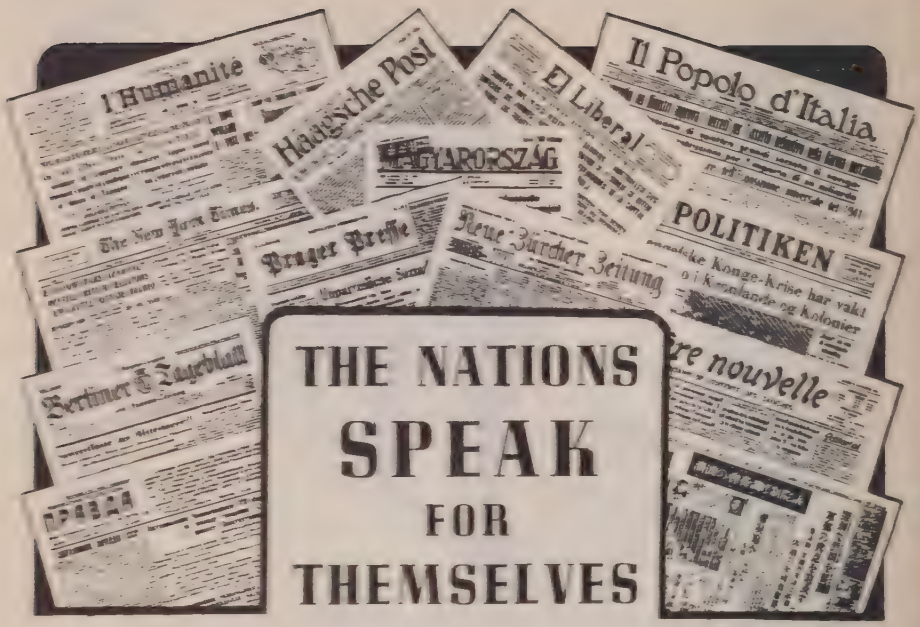
"Fireside Corner"

"L'Ami du Peuple," Paris



"Marianne," Paris

"You see, when the pedestal was finished, there wasn't enough money for an equestrian statue."



THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

IL DUCE—AND ANOTHER

VOLUNTEERS AND LONDON

(Attributed to SIGNOR MUSSOLINI)

From "Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

The following article in "Il Popolo d'Italia" is everywhere attributed to the pen of Signor Mussolini, the paper's founder and former editor. It played a considerable a part in forming British and French policies in the non-Intervention Committee that we reproduce it as a document of historical importance

WHAT exactly is this question of withdrawing foreign volunteers from Spain on which the whole diplomatic activity of Great Britain is at present concentrated—concentrated to the point of a not quite ingenuous mania? The English plan is to proceed to the recall, even if only by stages, of the foreign volunteers fighting for Burgos and Valencia. But why is the question of volunteers in existence today? To answer this conundrum one must go back to August 1936, when the French and British proposed non-intervention

in the affairs of Spain. Very good, said the German and Italian representatives at the time, but if non-intervention is to be efficient and not devolve into a tragic comedy, we must prevent the enlistment of volunteers, ban public subscriptions and all other forms of indirect aid, including propaganda, and not limit ourselves to forbidding the export of arms and munitions to the adversaries.

England and France replied that they could not go further, as in deference to the so-called immortal principles of their regimes they had no means of preventing departures of volunteers, money collections or solidarity meetings. The Third International, or rather Stalin's Government, which has frequently hailed in public the assistance given to the Valencia bolsheviks, traced the following plan of action : *cadres* and armaments were to have left Russia while all the anti-Fascists in the western countries bordering on Spain enlisted and formed international brigades under Red leaders. The object which the Reds from the very beginning saw in the struggle was quite clearly proclaimed—it was to smash Fascism.

It was only towards the end of 1936 that the first Italian volunteers began to leave for Spain. Given the Spanish and international developments of the war, the Blackshirts could not remain indifferent any longer ; even if Franco had had no need of men, the moment had come to give him a proof of solidarity and come down into the ring against anti-Fascism. It was the Reds who gave the civil war in Spain the character of a European war of doctrines—it would have been suicide not to take up the glove.

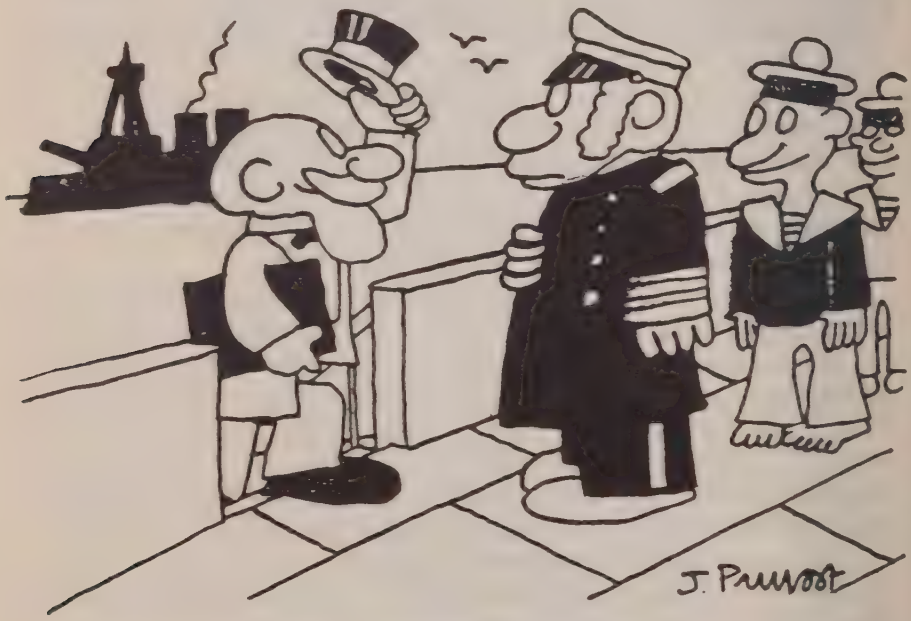
In February this year the non-intervention committee in London agreed to the proposal of these same British and French who would not hear of it in August to ban the departure of volunteers for Spain. From then onwards Italy has scrupulously respected the agreement. France, on the other hand, has not. Marseilles was, and still is, a centre of enlistment, while many other centres are at work in Paris and in other French cities without risk of disturbance under the more than benevolent eye of the Popular Front police.

Now, although it has proved impossible to prevent the continual passage of volunteers from France into Spain, it is proposed to recall those already there. The question arises, why ?

The British reply that the withdrawal of volunteers would shorten the war, as it is prolonged by their continued presence. That is all

hopelessly childish and betrays a complete ignorance of history. The two armed masses now struggling in Spain amount to 300,000 men each ; the two masses of foreign volunteers are reduced to some 20,000 to 25,000 each—so only a very modest percentage is concerned. It is simply grotesque to think that ten foreign volunteers can force 90 Spaniards to fight, especially against their will.

Before the members of the London committee subject their brains to a severe if not exhausting distillation in the alembics of procedure and of possible control systems, we would warn them that the recall of foreign volunteers is too complicated to be practicable. Who has the power to recall that gang of expatriates, Italians, French, Swiss, Jews and generally homeless who are not amenable to any government ? As for the Italian volunteers, they were not sent by the Government, and the Government has therefore no means to recall them. From the day on which they disembarked in Spain and became



"Vendredi," Paris

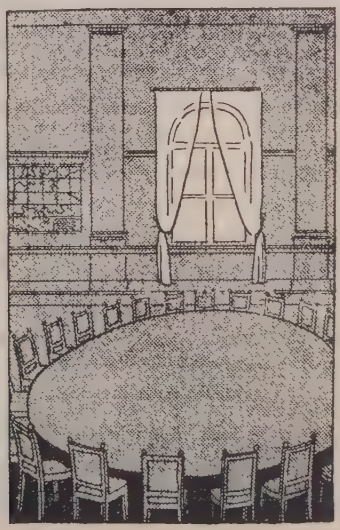
"Good Morning ! I am the Head Clerk to the Supervisors of the Control of Observers."

part of the Spanish national forces, they depended, and still depend, on Franco. Only the Spanish generalissimo, before or after the victory, can release them from their imperative moral duty ; the Italian Government cannot do it and, in the present state of affairs, will not do it.

Finally, it is high time to say that British non-intervention is a fable in which only fools can believe. The truth is that volunteers, both officers and soldiers, have left Great Britain ; arms, aeroplanes and munitions have left Great Britain ; public subscriptions have been announced, which, in fact, have not reached very brilliant totals ; the whole of Great Britain has become the scene of violent activity in the shape of propaganda and apologias in favour of the Valencia bolsheviks ; the movement is supported by members of parliament and important figures in the religious and political worlds ; even the evacuation of the civil populations, first from Bilbao and now from Santander, is only, under the modest guise of a humanitarian fig-leaf, a form of direct intervention in favour of the Spanish Reds, for whom it smooths the path of military resistance.

To take all the wind out of the sails of the British move with regard to volunteers, it is enough to hope that the withdrawal is chiefly demanded by Valencia and Moscow. The conclusion to draw is that it will help only or mainly the Reds.

The Non-Intervention Committee gives up interfering in anything.



'Brennessel," Munich.

We declare that everything that France and Britain could do to give the victory to the Valencia bolsheviks has been done ; we add that everything that Italy and Germany could do to isolate the Spanish conflagration has been done. The guns will have the last, the decisive word. A great new Spain is arising from the blood and ruins. The bolshevik attempt to invade the Mediterranean has been squashed, and the lie given to Lenin's prophecy.

It is an event of exceptional importance for the anti-bolshevik development of European civilisation.

WHO WANTS WAR ?

From the "Gazzetta del Popolo," Rome

So many war-thirsty articles by responsible Fascists find their way in translations into the British Press that we are glad to print an article from an influential paper along very different lines

IT appears that during the Imperial Conference in London, Mr. Eden, speaking of the relations between Italy and Great Britain, said " in these last months war has twice been avoided by a miracle." These grave words were spoken on May 24, the anniversary of the day on which Italy of her own free will intervened in the greatest and most terrible war in history. At the cost of immense risks, immense sacrifices, and with the loss of 700,000 lives she saved the Allies, particularly France and England herself, from defeat and disaster. In Italy—which was defrauded of the fruits of victory—that great and epoch-making day is celebrated with legitimate pride ; in England and in France as well there is talk, if only of how to avoid it, of a war with Italy. The " great democracies of the West " have now reached this stage of mental aberration. It really makes one think that if they are so mad God must wish to destroy them.

Why war ? Who has any interest in letting loose a fresh war on Europe ? A new war would spell disaster for Europe and therefore for civilisation, if it be true, and it is, that " Europe " means " Civilisation." It would be internecine butchery, the mutual extermination of the ruling races and would give the signal for revolution to

the leaders of the peoples of Asia and Africa, dominated and supported by the barbarous madness reigning in Bolshevik Russia. Not one of the great and really European nations has any conceivable reason or interest in provoking a suicidal war.

Italy during the last year has conquered an Empire ; now it is her duty and her wish to organise it, to populate it, to make it productive. Peace is a necessity for this great task which will demand all her energies for decades to come. She is ready at any moment both materially and spiritually to resist any who attempt to deprive her of her right to live, her honour, her freedom in the Mediterranean and her imperial destiny. She is also ready to defend western civilisation, which is fundamentally Roman, against the menace of barbarism. It is obviously not in her interest to provoke a war which might threaten her own existence. Only the minimum of intelligence is needed to see this, only the minimum of honesty to admit it. Anyone who talks of Italy wishing for war—*quaerens quem devoret*—is mad, or lying, or drugged with the narcotics of Geneva, or is truckling to his own demagogues.

Nor has Germany any intelligible reason for starting a war. Defeated, disarmed, enchained in 1919 at Versailles, she has little by little, step by step, without war, flung off her chains ; she has recovered little by little all that she lost. She has renewed her national spirit, her armed forces and much of her economic power. She knows herself to be surrounded by suspicion and hatred, some still smouldering, some just dying down but ready to burst out afresh at the least provocation. In such conditions war would imperil her magnificent but still incomplete work of reconstruction. Determined like Italy to defend the order and civilisation of Europe, Germany also resembles Italy in having no desire for an unnecessary war. The Italian-German understanding is a bulwark against the Soviet menace of a world revolution, is an understanding which makes for peace and order. It is blindness or bad faith to refuse to admit this.

France has no understandable motive for going to war. Possessed of gold and colonies far beyond her real capacity to assimilate ; menaced by internal disorder, by corruption, her international prestige considerably diminished, stagnating in the juridical spirit of Geneva, materialistically, individually and collectively pacifist, France

has all to lose and nothing to gain by war. During the World War she was saved by a myth and by a world coalition, today that myth is discredited and the coalition could not be, even partially, recreated. All Frenchmen, except the communist agents and the dupes of Moscow, know that for France, more than for any other great Power, war would involve the gravest risks.

Not even England would gain anything by war. With armaments which may be formidable in a few years (if she can find the men to use them) but which today only exist on paper ; with a population which appears to have lost its imperial spirit, its liking for adventure and fighting ; with an unwieldy and heterogeneous Empire clearly too heavy a weight to bear and now reduced to a mere federation, threatened in one place by an endemic, underground revolt, distracted in other parts by growing centrifugal forces ; satiated and

OLD CAMPAIGNER

"Prager Presse."

". . . . and what's more, I was in the fight between the British and the Zulus."

"Really? On which side?"

PROVOCATION

"Marianne." Paris

"The Reds insist on adding fuel to the fire! They will go on moving their harbours past our guns!"

pacifist like France, if for different reasons, she has everything to lose by a war. It might hasten the disintegration of the Empire and leave her once again the former kingdom of the Tudors and the Stuarts. In any case, for France and England the disaster to Europe would be a disaster to them.

Not one of the great Powers, therefore, has anything to gain by provoking a war. What is the cause of the daily appearance of this spectre of war? It arises from the fact that between these so-called "great democracies" and the so-called "authoritarian régimes" of Europe there exists a profound difference. In spite of stupid demagogic lies, it is the latter which are really free, not the democracies. They are in fact free from vague ideologies and mystical doctrines, they are able to see clearly the real interests of their countries; politically free from the blackmail of political parties and factions, they are able to follow without opposition, hesitation, or deviation the real interests of their countries; with power and knowledge and responsibility, they are the masters of their own actions. The other countries are the slaves of their own myths, of their political parties and their passions; as a result of these, they may at some moment, willing or unwilling, be driven to commit some irreparable act of madness. These "great democracies" are the playthings of forces which are driving Europe to a suicidal war.

These forces are well known. First of all there is Soviet Russia, the only one of the great Powers which has a real interest in starting a fresh European war. Bolshevik Russia longs to see the great imperial nations of Europe tear each other to pieces, to see what remains of western power and civilisation disappear in blood and fire in order that she may lead an anti-European revolution in Asia and Africa and finally fasten her barbarous talons on Europe. She hopes that from a Europe disheartened, exasperated and poisoned there would at last come the universal communist revolt and the establishment of her own inhuman empire of universal madness. This is why she assiduously corrupts and suborns the working classes, why she intrigues unceasingly at Geneva to foment international discords; this is why she wants an alliance with France and incites the French communists to demand war, this is why she has provoked and tirelessly supported the horrible war in Spain.

Her wishes are shared and supported by the Second and Third

Internationals. She is also helped for their own ends and to gratify their own hatreds by three great and sinister organisations which are anti-Fascist and anti-Roman (anti-Fascist because anti-Roman) —Freemasonry, Judaism and English Protestantism. These three currents, obscure or occult, unite in a spate of lies and hatred which flows to the abyss of war. Against this turbid flood the unbreachable dykes are Italy, Germany and their lesser allies.

ARAB-FASCIST BOND

Another outstanding feature noticeable in the Birthday (of the Prophet Mahomet) celebrations, was the appearance of German Nazi and Italian Fascists flags, and the displaying of the pictures, beside those of Arab kings and leaders, of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini.

Many people will undoubtedly misunderstand the significance of such action on the part of the Arabs, while foreign and Zionist propagandists have most probably deliberately misunderstood it, supposing it to be the fruit of the alleged Nazi and Fascist propaganda in the country. The fact, however, is that it was a significant gesture of sympathy and respect. "Sympathy" because, feeling the whip of Jewish pressure and influence, the Arabs sympathise with the Nazis and Fascists in their agony and trials at the hands of Jewish intrigues, and international financial pressure ; and "respect" because knowing the strength of Jewish finance and Jewish intrigues, the Nazis and Fascists have been able to withstand the influence of the Jews.

Another political element also comes in. The Nazis and Fascists are, at present anyway, concentrated in one camp, while in the opposing camp Great Britain leads. . . .—*Palestine and Transjordan* (Arab organ), Jerusalem.

JUST FANCY !

"I have a green budgerigar which, on Coronation Day, called out : 'God Save the King, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah !' almost at the time His Majesty was being crowned. I heard this distinctly, and so did a woman friend of mine.

"I have been teaching this little bird for two weeks to say this. He has said : 'God Save the King' several times, but he always left out the hurrahs. I was delighted to hear him say the whole thing on Coronation Day, and I wish that His Majesty could have heard him, as I am sure he would have taken it as a good omen."—Letter to *Natal Mercury*.

COMMUNIST AIMS

From "Communist International," London

From a Speech by José Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain to the Plenum of the Central Committee, March 5, 1937

We feel this really authoritative statement of the policy of the Spanish Communists to be of considerable interest and importance in view of the vague and inaccurate impressions prevalent about Red aims in Spain. For this reason, and also because such material is not otherwise easily available to our readers, we are printing these extracts in spite of the comparative long time which has elapsed since the speech was made

THE struggle in Spain does not aim at forming a democratic republic of the French type or like the republics of other capitalist countries. No, the democratic republic for which we are fighting is a different republic. We are fighting to destroy the material foundation on which reaction and Fascism were based, for unless this foundation is destroyed it will be impossible to have genuine political democracy.

In our struggle we are striving to bring about the *destruction of the material basis of semi-feudal Spain*, in order to root out Fascism once and for all.

We must liquidate the class of big landowners, who have participated to a man in the military-Fascist rebellion. We must nationalise their estates, and turn them over to the agricultural labourers and peasants, for cultivation either individually or collectively, according as they desire.

It is necessary to destroy the economic and political power of the Church, which was the centre of the conspiracy against the interests of the masses, and one of the strongest mainstays of semi-feudal Spain. To this end the property of the Church must be confiscated and nationalised. The struggle against the semi-feudal economic and political rule of the Church does not by any means signify a fight against religion. On the contrary, only a republican and democratic Spain, a free and progressive Spain, will ensure freedom of religion in our country.

We must also set about putting an end to the remnants of the caste spirit of the old army, which served semi-feudal Spain and was used to suppress progressive tendencies.

We must put an end to the financial oligarchy, to the bankers and manufacturers who were closely connected with the landowners and the Church and hindered the development of the national economy. We must proceed to the nationalisation of the Bank of Spain and the chief industries of the country.

We must introduce genuinely universal suffrage and secure the participation of the entire people in the political and economic life of the country.

In all the provinces under the rule of the Government, there are no longer any landlords, big bankers or big manufacturers, while the Church no longer exists there as a ruling power. This is the actual state of affairs, and the fact that arms are in the hands of the people is a guarantee that all that we have won will remain for all time. And precisely because we have a guarantee which secures what we have won, we should not lose our heads trying to carry out experiments of "Libertarian Communism" (Anarchist) or "Socialisation" in the factories or in the countryside. The stage of the development of the democratic revolution through which we are passing requires the participation in the struggle of all anti-Fascist forces, and these experiments can only result in driving away a very important section of those forces.

When the Communist Party put forward the slogan of the defence of the democratic republic, a considerable section of our Socialist comrades defended the point of view that the democratic republic had become an anachronism, and that it was necessary to set up a Socialist republic. This would have meant splitting the democratic petty-bourgeois and popular forces away from the working class.

The People's Army

There is no doubt that tremendous achievements have been made in the creation of the People's Army, but the process of its formation is far from being completed.

To what extent has our army been turned into a regular army? The commanding staff has taken certain steps in this direction. Little by little the militia detachments of the various parties and trade

unions are being liquidated and are giving way to a regular army, with its companies, battalions, brigades and divisions. Universal military service has been introduced. But the question of reserves is still a sharp one, the importance of which has not yet been realised by those concerned.

The principle of a single command has not yet been understood by many people. For some people, single command means that Catalonia must have its own command, the Basque Provinces must have theirs ; Asturias, the South and the North, will have their own command, and all of them will be more or less closely connected with the Ministry of War. As opposed to this, it must be said that single

"Please, mayn't we have just one shot, before we go down?"

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

command means the existence of a general staff possessing real power, and composed of military men and civilians, devoted to the interests of the people, planning and directing operations; single command presupposes an accurate knowledge of what positions and forces we possess, the distribution of arms and people according to plan, the right to transfer troops from one front to another.

A Political Army

There are people who chatter about the non-political character of our People's Army. Can an army which has been gathered together on a voluntary basis for the struggle against Fascism—this expression of the most revolting and brutal policy ever known in history—be called a non-political army? Our army is a political army, serving as the bulwark of the *Frente Popular*, serving the people.

Our army is an army of the people, and must be trained in the spirit of hatred for the Fascists of our own country, for the butchers of the people, and for foreign Fascism, which is lighting the flames of war. Our army must be trained in the spirit of love for the people and their rights.

Incompetent people and traitors must be driven out of the army and mercilessly punished. And this must not be done negligently and when some disaster or other looms ahead, but systematically. At the same time we must be resolute in operating a policy of promoting and training new cadres of officers who have distinguished themselves in battle.

We must react rapidly and resolutely to those who are responsible for military defeats. It is not sufficient at the demand of the people to remove a general who has organised a defeat and directly or indirectly participated in acts of sabotage against the army, and immediately afterwards to appoint him to another position.

We need an army which is constantly in action. We cannot permit a situation where at a time when on some fronts not only are the enemy's attacks being beaten off, but counter-attacks are carried on to the point of utter exhaustion, on other fronts troops sit in the trenches for months on end doing nothing, without making attacks, without even undertaking sorties against the enemy.

Our shores must be fortified and coastal defences created. It was no secret to anyone that the attack on Malaga was prepared from land

and sea, and that the chief rôle in the capture of the town was played by an Italian landing party. This must not be repeated. Still more intensive work must be carried on to disintegrate the enemy's forces. Propaganda in their ranks must be intensified. There are not a few anti-Fascists among the men mobilised by the rebel generals, and they are awaiting a convenient moment to come over to us. For this reason, along with increasing our propaganda, we must first guarantee the lives of all prisoners.

We must stimulate the formation of guerilla detachments, especially among the peasants, to act in the rear of the enemy. Even now there are groups of armed men who have preferred to take to the mountains rather than submit to the Fascists. We must get into contact with these groups, help them with food, ammunition, and send them people capable of leading them.

Away with Parasites!

Our rear must be a fighting rear. In this fierce struggle, which demands so many sacrifices, it is not permissible for so many people to be passive and evading service. The districts behind the lines must be cleansed. To cleanse these districts from parasites, we must immediately begin to issue identity certificates to all citizens. All must do useful work and help in the victory. This means that the principle : "He who does not work shall not eat" must be amended to mean that he whose work does not hasten victory shall not eat.

If we want to win the war—and we have no doubt that we shall do so—we must establish a war industry capable of supplying the fronts with everything necessary. We cannot permit endless wailing about the unfairness of the isolation to which we have been doomed by the democratic countries. Instead of this, we must make serious efforts to set all our national resources into motion.

The defence of the interests of the peasants has been the constant care of our Party. Our Party was the first to raise a voice of protest against lawless buccaneering in the countryside. Thanks to this, we have succeeded in gradually squeezing out the so-called uncontrolled elements, so that the peasants could convince themselves that the town workers are not new exploiters, but their allies and leaders.

Now that the peasants have the land given to them by the Republic, they must defend this Republic at the front and in the rear. We must

strengthen the bonds of friendship between the agricultural labourers and the peasants by the organisation of the former into trade unions and the latter into production co-operative societies.

* * *

Who are the enemies of the people? The enemies of the people are the *Fascists, Trotskyists and the "uncontrolled" elements.* Our chief care at the present moment is to guarantee the unity of the whole Spanish people, i.e., the alliance between the proletariat and all the supporters of progress, all who want to see Spain prosperous and happy. But at the same time we must disclose and expose all the enemies of the people. Wherever they may hide. Our chief enemy is Fascism, against which we concentrate all our fire and all the hatred of the people. But our hatred is directed with equal force against the agents of Fascism, against those who, like the P.O.U.M., these Trotskyists in disguise, conceal themselves behind pseudo-revolutionary phraseology so as the better to fulfil their rôle as agents of our enemies in our own country. To destroy the "5th Column" we must destroy all those who defend the political slogans of the enemy.

When the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist conspiracy was discovered in the Soviet Union, and the Trotskyist criminals—spies and wreckers—came before the proletarian court, the Spanish Trotskyists hastened to defend their friends and joined the chorus of the German and Italian Fascist press, which bitterly attacked the Soviet system for being able to expose the criminal machinations of the Fascist agents. It would be a mistake to regard the Trotskyists as part of the working-class movement. They are an unprincipled group of counter-revolutionaries, agents of international Fascism, their chief being Trotsky, direct agent of the Gestapo. In their fury against the Soviet Union, against the great Bolshevik Party and against the Communist International, the Trotskyists stretch out their hands to the Fascists. This is why the Communists resolutely refuse to enter any organ whatever together with the Trotskyists. The Party must raise the question before the working masses of a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyists. Fascism, Trotskyism and the "uncontrolled" elements are the three enemies of the people who must be removed from the political life not only of Spain but of all civilised countries.

Strength of the Party

At the present time the Communist Party, which has 131,600 members fighting at the front in the ranks of the People's Army, has 249,140 members, and this is only in the provinces ruled by the Republican Government. This figure includes 50,000 members of the united Socialist Party of Catalonia. The social composition of the Party is as follows : 87,660 industrial workers, 62,250 agricultural labourers, 76,700 peasants, 15,485 from the middle classes and 7,045 representatives of the intellectuals and the liberal professions. There are 19,300 women in the Communist Party.

In view of the fact that our Party must be the basic instrument for strengthening the *Frente Popular* and for rallying the Spanish people for the struggle against home and foreign Fascists, the basic tasks of the Communists are as follows : *at the front* they must be models of discipline and heroism ; at the same time they must show the maximum vigilance towards the various acts of provocation and enemy espionage in the People's Army.

In industry they must be the best shock-workers. They must fight for the formation of a war industry, following the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, who never stop before any difficulties.

In the villages the Communists must stubbornly carry out the agrarian policy of our Party which has already produced so many good results. They must continue the work of organising the peasants and agricultural labourers. They must form committees of contact between the agricultural labourers and peasants, thus ensuring a close alliance between the working people of the country districts. They must convince everyone of the necessity to respect small ownership. They must see to the intensification and differentiation of the sowings, increasing agricultural production.

As for the *intellectuals*, the Communists, whose ideas are built on a scientific basis and who are fighting for a splendid and happy life for all mankind, must day by day strengthen the bonds of brotherhood with the intellectuals and in practice must show that the people love science, art and literature, whereas Fascism is the synonym for superstition and ignorance, barbarism and the negation of culture.

The Communists must be the best *organisers of the rear*, while paying the maximum attention to the needs of the front. The Communists must care for the wounded, invalids, the wives and children of the

fighters, and see to the just distribution of food. They must fight to secure that all give the maximum of their labour to the cause of the war. They must mobilise all that is honest and healthy against concealed enemies, against war profiteers and against the idlers who are funking at the rear.

The Communists must be the best defenders of the *trade unions*, and systematically recruit members to them.

The Communists must strengthen and extend their work among *women*. It is necessary to strengthen the already existing organisation of anti-Fascist women and mobilise all the women of Spain in defence of their country and the national independence.

Hundreds of thousands of Spanish citizens are thirsting to maintain regular contacts with the great land of Socialism, the Soviet Union. It is therefore necessary to extend and develop in every way the present " Friends of the U.S.S.R." Society in Spain.

Carrying out Comintern Strategy

The unity and monolithic spirit of the Communist Party is our great pride. Our political line is clear and understandable to the broad masses of the Spanish people. If our political line is so comprehensible, it is because it is penetrated by the ideology and the strategic and tactical orientation of the Communist International. It is because the Party has been able correctly to apply the strategic line of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, as set out by our great comrade, Dimitrov.

To win the war that has been forced on us, we shall yet have to suffer and sacrifice a great deal. The struggle will be stubborn and long drawn out. International Fascism can still deal heavy blows at us. But, in spite of all, we profoundly believe in the fighting power of our people, and are therefore confident that we shall win. We shall win because we are fighting not only for our own cause, for the cause of our country, but for the cause of the whole of progressive mankind. We shall win because we are sure of international solidarity. We shall conquer because the heroic International Brigades, the best sons of the international proletariat, the best representatives of democracy, are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, showing in practice their solidarity with us. The Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, etc., have given us great help, and I am sure that at the present

moment they will still further strengthen the campaign of solidarity with the Spanish people, so that if the so-called control is established, the workers and the democratic forces of their countries will not only not weaken their help, but, on the contrary, will strengthen it, for the defence of Spain is also the defence of their own peoples.

We shall conquer because, as Comrade Dimitrov said :—

" The victory of the Spanish people over the Fascist reactionaries, the Fascist interventionists, and the establishment of a strong republican parliamentary democratic regime, based on the People's Front, will decisively undermine the material and political basis of Fascism in Spain, will lead to the further rallying of the democratic forces in France, Great Britain and other countries, where Fascism threatens to destroy the political rights and liberties which the people have won."

LAND FOR THE PEASANTS

From the "Spanish Press Agency," London

THE feudal caste of Spain have for centuries not only exploited the peasants, but the soil as well. Under their domination Spain's once abundant forests have disappeared ; hundreds and thousands of acres of once fertile ground have gone to waste. Whilst other countries went ahead with agricultural development, in Spain 74,100,000 acres remained uncultivated ; 46,930,000 unirrigated acres grew only grass and only 2,470,000 acres were irrigated.

The absentee landlord was one of the most evil features of life in Spain before the formation of the Republic. These men, owning in some cases more than a hundred thousand acres, were interested in one thing only—the collection of rents. They seldom saw the land they ruined or the peasants they exploited.

The amount of land owned by one man can be seen from the fact that the Duke of Medinaceli owned 197,600 acres ; the Duke of Penaranda 123,500 ; the Duke of Villahermosa 116,090 ; the Duke of Alba 86,450 ; fourteen other landlords possessed between them 988,000 acres.

And while the landlords lived abroad in luxury from their rents and from the land they exploited so unintelligently, the peasants

eked out an existence that would be called miserable even by the standards of the Middle Ages. They crowded to regions where they were able to have a little land of their own, leaving other areas almost deserted. In the Province of Leon there is one region divided into 27,000 tiny farms—of ten metres each. In Pontevedra there are innumerable tiny properties of from ten to twenty metres. In Vera, in La Coruna, there is a piece of land 32 metres square that has three proprietors. One of them owns the land, another the single chestnut tree that grows there and the third draws a rent of six eggs laid upon it. In countless places in the Spanish countryside three or four families were living in one room. These were their circumstances, and until the formation of the Popular Front Government they had no reason to hope for better. And one half of Spain's population of 22 millions were peasants and farmers.

Rent-Free Gift

In the territory controlled by the Republican Government the Decree of Expropriation has ended many of the hardships. Absentee landlords, known reactionaries and fascists, those who joined in the rebellion, have been dispossessed of their large properties. Over 5,681,000 acres have changed hands. This land has been given to the peasants. They do not pay rent for it. It is a firm principle of the Republican Government that no one must profit at the expense of the peasants.

Leaving Catalonia, Aragon, Santander and the Asturias aside, 18 per cent. of the cultivable land in loyal Spain has changed hands and the peasants now work it rent free. It should be emphasised that although such quantities of land have changed hands, in no case has the property of the small landowner been interfered with. One of the Republican Government's cardinal principles is that in no case should the small farmer be molested.

In addition to the land, the tools necessary for the working of it, so far as these existed, have also gone to the peasants.

HINT TO EXPLORERS

According to an explorer, a tiger will not harm you if you carry a white walking cane. That might depend, we should think, on how fast you carry it.—*Atlanta Journal.*

FRENCH FINANCE

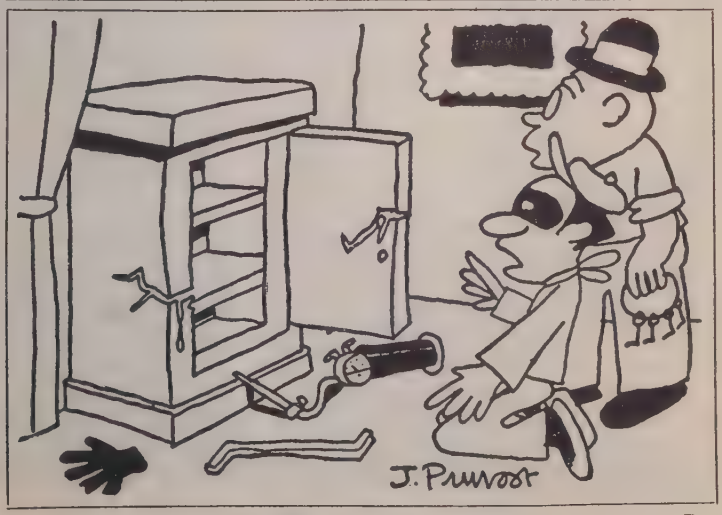
THE UNKNOWN CAPITALIST!

From "Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

M. JOSEPH CAILLAUX (Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance), taking up, in a grand burst of patriotism, the defence of those whom the agents of Moscow call tax evaders, declared before an enthusiastic Senate that capital invested in foreign countries was sacred, and that to it belonged the credit of winning the war.

M. Joseph Caillaux must be congratulated for having, with his usual authority, pricked a particularly odious demogogic bubble. It was believed for too long that the war was won by the poor creatures who, from 1914 to 1918 (without their personal opinions always having been consulted) were called upon to play the part of heroes. For what rôle could reasonably be supposed to have been played by men who were not only too young to be senators but did not even own a banking account?

It was also necessary to put an end as soon as possible to a ridiculous situation; for it was evident that the place occupied by the Unknown Soldier beneath the Arc de Triomphe was usurped. It belonged by right to the Unknown Capitalist. Unknown, naturally, to the Treasury.



Burglar: "Not a sou! We must be in a millionaire's house!"

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

M. Joseph Caillaux is not the man to be content with words alone. At his order the necessary action was taken at once, and everything was at last put right.

A short, but refreshing, ceremony took place at the Arc de Triomphe in the presence of M. Joseph Caillaux and of M. Marcel Régnier. Beforehand the Unknown Soldier had been sent to the common grave where all the other relics of the war : " Germany will pay," " disarmament," etc., have already been buried.

Then, amid general emotion, the Unknown Capitalist was brought forward, enclosed in a safe on which were the words : " Country and Confidence." The safe was sunk beneath the sacred slab, while the flags dipped. Wonderful moment. You could have heard a banker in flight. M. Joseph Caillaux wiped away a tear. At last, led by M. Marcel Régnier, the delegates of the Bank of International Settlements came to rekindle the flame.

M. Caillaux is thinking of proposing a law to punish severely those who, out of negligence, forget to send their fortunes to foreign countries and who impair our war exchequer by paying their taxes.

For a country lives by its élite, and not by those imbeciles who exchange their gold for a ridiculous little bit of paper.

FEEDING THE BITING DOG

From the " Le Mutilé de l'Algérie," Algiers

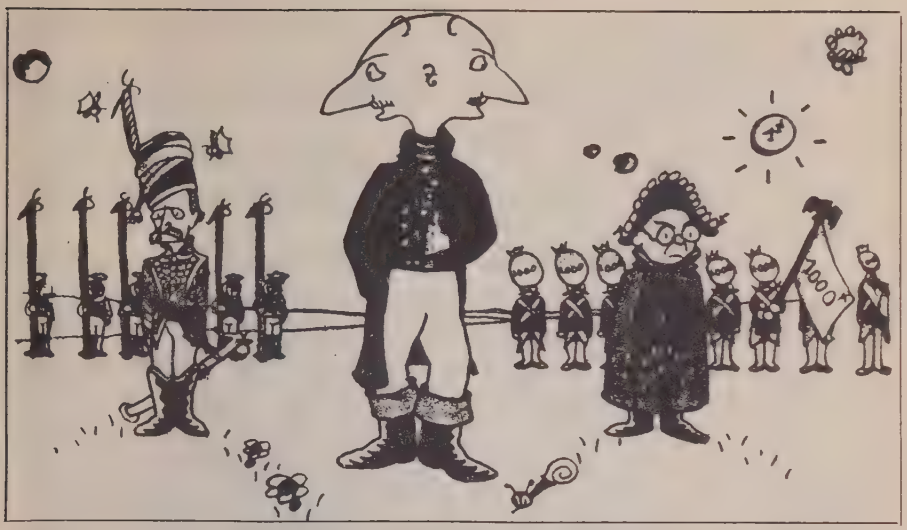
(A paper devoted to the interests of ex-soldiers, wounded, and war-widows of North Africa)

THE *Officiel* (the French version of the *London Gazette*, Ed.) makes rather dry reading, but nevertheless, at times it can be very instructive. An instance of this is the reply given to a question raised in the French Parliament by a M. André Albert.

M. Albert demanded to know what quantities of Lorraine iron ore had been exported to Germany each month, from January 1, 1936, onwards, and what quantities had been exported to Germany, each month, from January 1 to July 1, 1932.

The reply was as follows :—

1. During the first quarter of 1936, the quantity of Lorraine iron ore exported to Germany was an average of 567,000 tons a month.



BONNETPARTE, EMPEROR OF THE FRANCS *"Vendredi," Paris*

THE MOON *"Je Suis Partout," Paris*

"And if it hadn't been for the naughty Senate, you'd have had that, too!"

For the second quarter, the exports were as follows : April, 645,400 tons, May, 645,940 tons, June, 612,740 tons.

2. The monthly average export for 1932 was 50,000 tons for the Ruhr, and 213,000 tons for the Saar.

Now everyone knows that iron ore is used in the manufacture of pig-iron and steel. It is a raw material of which Germany has the greatest need at the present time.

On March 20, 1915, the representatives of the principal industrial and agricultural associations of Germany, in a confidential memorandum addressed to the German Chancellor, wrote as follows :

" The quantity of iron and steel needed for the manufacture of shells is one which surpasses the imagination of the ' man in the street.' . . If the production of pig-iron and steel had not been doubled from August onwards, the continuation of the war would have been impossible. . . Lorraine iron ore is responsible, at the present time, for 60-80 per cent. of our output. If the production of this mineral had been stopped, the war would soon have been over—and lost ! "

The Briey basin (near Verdun) *which contains a third of the world's known reserves of this mineral*, continued to supply the Krupp factories throughout the entire course of the war ! It could easily and quickly have been destroyed by French shells and bombs, and yet, thanks to some mysterious external intervention, coming from high quarters, this territory was spared by our aircraft and artillery.

Further, the Briey basin, *which again became French territory after the War*, has continued to pour forth its treasure to German factories, *and is thus in great measure responsible for the gigantic re-armament preparations now going on in Germany*.

This was quite logical, and in accordance with the practice of certain important French industries which, as is well known, extend their ramifications well beyond our frontiers, and whose domains are practically separate states within the French state.

" Germany is fighting us with our own iron," wrote Maurice Barrès, in 1916. Twenty years later there is a danger that the same phrase will again become grim reality, and the lessons of the past—and what a past !—will have been useless ! Today, as yesterday, we are threatened with the most terrible of catastrophes because we have been unable to put a brake on the insatiable greed of certain powerful industrial magnates !

KEEPING OUT OF EUROPE
The Price of Neutrality

by BRUCE BLIVEN

From "The New Republic," New York

THE American people have indicated decisively and on several occasions their desire to remain aloof from European international politics. It is quite possible, and many persons believe probable, that this country will ultimately participate in the Second World War that nearly all informed observers believe is likely within the next decade. If we do, however, the change in public opinion that will support such participation will come after the conflict has started and because of circumstances arising out of it. At present most Americans are concerned only to know how we can stay out.

The Proposed World Conference

A few months ago there were exciting reports that President Roosevelt had it in mind to call a conference of the heads of all the principal states for the purpose of maintaining peace. He believed, so it was said, that if Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, the Japanese Prime Minister, could sit down at one table with the French Premier, the British Prime Minister, the American President, in secret conclave with no thought of producing results that could be embodied in protocols or treaties, there was a good chance of turning the international tides against war. I do not know whether Mr. Roosevelt ever seriously considered such an idea, but if he did, I earnestly hope he has abandoned it. Several of the heads of states would almost certainly refuse to come ; can anyone imagine Hitler agreeing to sit down with Stalin ? If they did come, it is inconceivable that any of them would agree to important alteration of his country's policy as a result of anything said in such a conference. Finally, even if such a verbal agreement were made, it would not be valorised by the government and popular opinion and, most of all, by the controlling business interests, even in the countries where dictatorship is most

completely supreme. The hope that peace is advanced by personal conferences comes out of what Charles A. Beard describes as the "devil theory" of the causes of war—the notion that combat arises from the personal wickedness of individuals who know the better and select the worse.

A question of overwhelming importance that receives far less attention than it deserves is whether the future interests of this country are best served by actively encouraging foreign trade and investment or by keeping our money and goods at home. Many persons believe with Dr. Beard that in the long run, we can attain a greater degree of prosperity, peace and happiness for our population by reducing foreign investment to a minimum and foreign trade to the legitimate quantity possible on a virtual barter basis.

Peace and/or Trade?

In the past, as everyone knows, foreign investment, the competitive struggle for foreign markets and the fight for dwindling world supplies of such raw materials as oil, coal and iron, have been potent sources of international tension. It is by no means visionary to look forward to a time when world peace is maintained through the allocation of markets and raw materials among the nations by an international governing body. Secretary Hull seems to me to offer an argument that is far too naively simple when he says that to encourage the maximum of international trade through reciprocal treaties is a guarantee of peace. It depends on just what trade you have in mind, between what powers and under what conditions. If, for example, war is likely to break out in the next few years, the more international trade we have built up, the worse the trouble we are likely to be in, if we have not carefully safeguarded its character and conditions.

For the purposes of this article, however, dealing with the foreign policy of the second Roosevelt administration, a debate on the question of economic internationalism versus autarchy is a pointless one. The administration is firmly committed to a scheme of additional reciprocal trade treaties and to an increasing volume of both exports and imports. It remains for us to see whether our foreign trade policies can be put on such a basis as to work for good and not for evil.

We have often heard it suggested that the most effective answer the democratic nations can make to the fascist ones is to demonstrate

that democracy produces more prosperity, a higher general standard of living, than is possible in the totalitarian states. Primarily, of course, this is to be achieved through internal redistribution of wealth ; but something can also be done by way of international trade agreements between and among the democratic countries that will give them reciprocal benefits. It has been rumoured that President Roosevelt is planning another international economic conference, and there is a good chance that if it is called, he will attempt to work along the lines suggested—particularly, since the chief fascist countries of Europe are now living under such strained and abnormal national economies that it is hard to see what possible useful agreements they could make—or, even if made, could carry out.

We are handicapped by the fact that although the United States is now a creditor nation, we are still dominated by social patterns set before the Great War, when this was not true. We still insist on a so-called " favourable " balance of trade for no earthly reason, and we try to keep out of the country those foreign goods which are the only possible means through which our foreign debtors can pay what they owe.

No development now on the horizon justifies the belief that there will be any marked change in our relationship to Latin America in the next few years. The era of pioneering capitalist exploitation, with serious risks and gaudy profits, has probably run its course. The new type of South American dictator is far less likely to be the willing tool of Yankee imperialism than his predecessor of a generation or two ago. A substantial increase in our trade is no doubt possible if we are prepared to accept it, which it is far from certain that we are : American producers of meat, cereals and dairy products, for example, are not enthusiastic about opening our markets to similar products coming from the cheap land of the Argentine. And trade has to run both ways.

America and the East

What is true of South America is probably also true of our relations with the Orient : there is no reason to expect any substantial alteration of policy in the next few years. The two new factors in that area are the eventual independence of the Philippines, promised by existing law, and the sudden importance attached to several small

islands or groups of islands which happen to be landing stations for trans-Pacific aerial navigation. Strong efforts are being made, and will become more intense, to cause the United States to rescind its action in regard to the Philippines, particularly since it was accompanied by economic restrictions that would work great hardships on the Filipinos if carried into effect. There is no reason to expect, however, that this situation will become crucial within the period of time discussed in the present article.

As for our general position in the Orient, it seems likely to remain as it has been. We are in sharp conflict with Japan over the right to trade and invest in China and elsewhere on the Asiatic seaboard. We have forbidden Japanese immigration to the United States in terms which this proud people regards as an insult to its national dignity. We maintain, and are adding to, a navy which is generally assumed by the experts of all countries to be intended for use against Japan or against nobody. In effect, we are already engaged in joint policing operations with the British fleet throughout the Pacific area. This policy, as everyone knows, shows up badly on our national balance sheet. We should save huge sums of money if we would scrap our naval equipment and reimburse to the full every American investor and trader in the Far East ; but any such burst of magnificent common sense is beyond the powers of our own or any other government. In the long run, our Oriental commitments constitute an extremely grave peril for us, not less serious in that it is so unnecessary. For the next four years, however, Japan is likely to be too busy with China and Soviet Russia to make faces at us, and we in turn shall have serious European preoccupations.

American "Diplomats"

No discussion of future American foreign policy should omit a mention of the instrumentality by which that policy is not only implemented but to a large degree created : the State Department. It is now generally recognised that the Department badly needs a comprehensive overhauling both as to policy and personnel. As to policy, it needs to be made more responsive to the general drift of the national intention, as reflected in the attitude of successive Congresses. As to personnel, everyone agrees that we need a larger number of men of high individual quality in the service, with a

corresponding cutting away of deadwood. Particularly undesirable is the presence of numerous individuals in our diplomatic service abroad who let their personal prejudices interfere with the proper discharge of their duties. There have been well substantiated reports of Americans in Germany, and in some other countries, who are little brothers of the Nazis ; while at the other extreme, we hear reports of American officials in the Soviet Union whose dislike of what is going on there is so openly expressed as to make them worse than useless in the discharge of their official duties.

The overwhelming foreign problem of the near future is of course that of neutrality. Is it desirable to try to stay out of any future general war ? If so, is it possible ? If it is possible, how and on what terms ?

The first of these questions may seem absurd, but, in fact, it is not. Astonishing as it may appear, many people nowadays are talking about American neutrality of a sort that will seek to keep the peace of the world, or will ensure our coming in on " the right side " when Armageddon is resumed. Coming in on the right side could conceivably be desirable, but it is not neutrality. Those who advocate this policy ought to call themselves the Noble Interventionists, or some similar name.

The Price of Neutrality

For the United States to keep out of future war is undoubtedly possible, if we are willing to pay the price. To be absolutely sure of continuing at peace, we should have to take steps far more drastic than have ever been considered. We should need to become a hermit nation, without any merchant marine and with practically no foreign trade. It would be necessary to find substitutes, produced at home, for such present imports as coffee, tea, rubber, manganese, etc. Foreign investment would have to be cut off along with foreign trade. The economic readjustments necessary could hardly be achieved without a completely socialized state. Whatever may be true of the far distant future, Americans are not at the present time prepared for any such drastic steps.

Is there any programme that carries a good chance of keeping us out of war and at the same time could win political acceptance in the fairly near future ? Persons who have been examining this subject

closely believe that such a compromise with political expediency is possible. Its main points are :

On the outbreak of war, embargoes would be put into effect on arms, ammunition and implements of war to all belligerents and to any other countries that are being used as purchasing agents for belligerents.

No American merchant vessel would be used in trade of any sort with any belligerent, or in any zone of danger. This sounds like a huge economic burden but in fact it would not be. Government subsidies to these ships are so vast already that if they were continued, and operating expenses stopped, the owners would not be seriously disadvantaged.

American citizens would be ordered to keep out of all danger zones, which would mean of course that if they disobeyed the injunction they would do so at their own risk.

Sales of goods other than embargoed war supplies would be permitted, but only on a cash-and-carry basis, in foreign bottoms, title to the goods to pass before they were put on board.

Nearly all such trade would of course have to be financed from the sale of American securities owned by foreign investors and commandeered for this purpose by their own governments. To police such transactions, all foreign owners of American securities should be registered with the United States government and, in case of war, sale of these securities to finance belligerents' purchases would be controlled by an American governmental committee that would place them on the market in an orderly fashion to avoid disastrous price slumps. (Such funds at the present time amount to some $7,000,000,000.)

The United States government would accumulate large stocks of all essential non-perishable products now obtained only from foreign sources. Contrary to the general impression, a comparatively small sum would purchase sufficient stocks of such products to see us through a fairly long war.

Needless to say, there should be no discretion for the President or anyone else to discriminate between belligerents on a basis of moral judgments. There should, however, be some presidential discretion in the application of these various measures, in order to avoid being

committed by law to something that turns out to be unwise in terms of the immediate situation.

Any programme less drastic than this, in the opinion of experts who have studied the question carefully and at length, would have little real hope of keeping us out of the next war. Any programme more drastic, in their judgment, would at present be rejected by Congress and the country.

A subsidiary problem to which insufficient attention has yet been paid is what to do in the case of a civil war that is actually an international conflict, such as that in Spain. We have passed emergency legislation embargoing arms to either side in this conflict, a measure that works an unjust hardship on the Spanish government, since the rebels can still obtain arms and ammunition from the United States indirectly, through German and Italian sources. Application of the principles mentioned above, in the light of existing international law, might well have been reflected in a ruling that would sell supplies to the Spanish government on a cash-and-carry basis, while withholding them, as we have done in the past on numerous occasions over many years, from the rebels.

Will America Pay the Price?

The unsolved question is whether the American people really do want peace sufficiently to pay even the price implicit in the suggestions made above. Verbally, at least, everyone is a pacifist nowadays, but there is good reason to believe that once a war had actually begun, other loyalties would exert powerful countervailing pressures. If Soviet Russia were involved, for example, American radicals would want to enter the war as an ally of hers, while some conservatives, at least, would want to join the fight on the opposite side. There would no doubt be powerful influences, especially along the Atlantic seaboard, seeking to bring us into any war in which Great Britain was a participant, on the same side. Both these groups would be joined together, and greatly augmented, if there were a world struggle between the fascist powers on one side and a group headed by Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia, on the other. Of even greater importance, in all likelihood, would be the business interests adversely affected, or believing themselves adversely affected, by neutrality. Embargoes would be evaded, perhaps on a large scale, and we should hear pitiful

stories about the working men who would suffer if the attempt were made to restore their effectiveness. Business done for cash, under the law, would be succeeded by business done for credit, financed at exorbitant rates by speculators willing to take a chance. The powers at war would engage in vast propaganda campaigns in the United States, as they did from 1914 to 1917.

My own guess, which is obviously worth no more than anybody else's, is that the peace sentiment is now strong enough so that in case of a major war before the end of the second Roosevelt administration, we could probably be kept out for ten months or a year. If the struggle lasted longer, it seems to me likely that we should be dragged in, unless, in the period from now until the outbreak of war, peace sentiment is mobilised on a greater scale than ever in the past, and its demands are recorded in effective legislation.

NOT WORTH WAR

America's Stake in the Far East

by ROBERT B. PETTENGILL

Assistant Professor of Economics, The University of Southern California

From "World Affairs Interpreter," Los Angeles

WITH each new expansion of Japanese control in the Far East at China's expense, prominent citizens of the United States insist that war is inevitable between this country and the Land of the Rising Sun. We are told that we have vital economic interests in the Orient which we must defend to preserve our own security. Alarmists even assert that after Japan gets through gobbling up China she will begin on the United States.

Preposterous though these predictions may sound to the well-informed person, they are taken seriously by many Americans for want of adequate refutation. . . .

Japan is approximately twice as important to us as China in the three fields of our economic interest in the Orient. Only in the matter of direct investments do we have more to protect in China than in Japan. This is primarily due to oil company properties, with

Standard Oil heading the list. Shall we risk two dollars in a possibly vain effort to save one?

China buys about three per cent. of our exports, sells us about three and one-half per cent. of our imports, and possesses less than two per cent. of our total foreign investments. These are rather small stakes to provoke the statement that war with Japan is inevitable because of economic competition with China.

Of course, the final *reductio ad absurdum* of war as a method of protecting our interests in China, or anywhere else for that matter, is the cost of such a conflict. Experts tells us that the expense of such a campaign would probably exceed that of the World War.

From April, 1917, to November, 1918, we spent an average of $40,000,000 a day directly upon war. This does not include war loans to our Allies which now appear to be nearly a dead loss. Nor does it consider the indirect cost in lives and property, nor the pension, bonus, and disabled veteran costs which Calvin Coolidge predicted would ultimately triple the above estimate to make a grand total of one hundred billion dollars for our efforts to protect our trade with and loans to the Triple Entente.

Taking the conservative figure of fifty million dollars a day as the cost of any major war which we might contemplate in the future, one may safely assert that four days of war would cost more than the total value of our exports to China in the peak year of 1929. A week of war would put us more out of pocket than the total value of all our foreign trade with that country. We could buy out all American owners of property in China by saving the cost of five more days of fighting and pay the owners of American ships to keep away from China with the monetary equivalent of another day's war.

Two weeks after war had been declared, probably even before any hostilities had occurred, we would probably have spent more than all our interests in China are worth. The present value of all American investments, trade, and shipping in that country cannot exceed $500,000,000, in view of alternative investment opportunities, markets, raw material sources, and cargoes. In other words, the United States Government could satisfy every claimant for military and naval protection against Japan from the proceeds of a one year increase in federal taxes by fifteen per cent.

Is war to be preferred to this?

THE FEMALE AND THE SPECIE

by HENRY MORTON ROBINSON

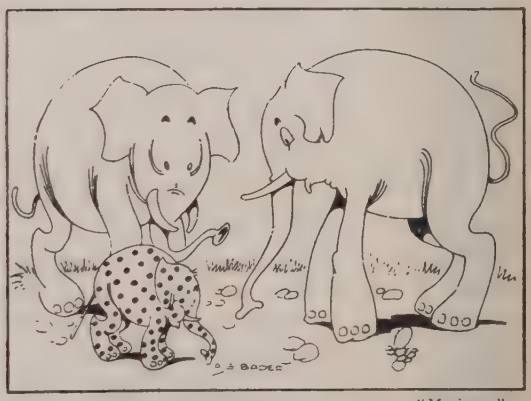
From "The Rotarian," Chicago

IN that famous, long-extinct Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies, the royal women exercised an ascendancy over their menfolk on almost every plane of existence. Property transfer and the line of descent was through the mother ; children even took the family name of the female parent. Political policy was fixed by women and religious rites supervised by them. One of the most completely woman-run societies in history flourished in the Nile Valley about 5,000 B.C., and many historians attribute the high standard of Egyptian civilisation to the matriarchal nature of its society.

But the woman-state of Egypt was a thin-edged shadow when compared with the solidly buttressed matriarchy that is forming in the United States today. Even a brief examination of the economic set-up here will reveal that the financial powers of the male are either static or dwindling, while those of the female grow mightier every year. True, our children take their name from the male parent, and the father is still the titular head of the family. But cold figures prove that woman is the potential financial dictatrix of today, and that the economic destiny of the United States is now in the hands of its women.

"Mucha," Warsaw.

Photographer's Son : "Look, Daddy, a negative man ! They've forgotten to develop him ! "



"Marianne."

Proud Mother : "Before he was born I had an unsatisfied craving for green peas."

What part of the national wealth do women actually own? Well, as a fair index, suppose we begin by scrutinising their share of the savings-bank accounts in the United States. The total number of depositors is close to 14 million, and the total deposits exceed 10 billion dollars.* Thirty per cent. of these accounts are held by women alone; an additional 40 per cent. are held jointly by a man and a woman. Thus it appears that women are involved, either jointly or independently, in 70 per cent. of the savings accounts now held by our banks. This gives them the disposal, in whole or part, of 7 billion dollars of highly liquid wealth. Compare this figure with the bank holdings of women 10, 20, 50 years ago, and the spectacular growth of woman's financial power is clearly visualised.

As owners of shares in listed corporations, women stockholders are contesting their numerical strength with men. The last available figures indicate that women own about 20 billion dollars worth of stock in American corporations. A survey of the investors in more than 40 large industries shows that women constitute 43 per cent. of the stockholders and own from 25 to 30 per cent. of the stock. In some companies, notably the American Telephone and Telegraph, more women than men own the outstanding shares.

Women are the great beneficiary class in life-insurance policies. They appear as beneficiaries in four-fifths of the 100 billions of life insurance now in force in the United States. Last year the wives, mothers, and daughters of insured decedents received approximately a billion dollars in death claims. They will receive a larger amount this year and an increasing amount every year hereafter.

When millionaires are mentioned we generally think in male terms, yet—according to United States income-tax returns—there are 3,000 women in the country who are worth more than $1,000,000. The ratio of female to male millionaires in 1929 was 1 to 5; it is now 2 to 5—an increase of 100 per cent. during the depression! Of women multimillionaires, there are 400 in the United States whose total holdings exceed $3,000,000. They are not all aged widows either—nor are they all married to titled fortune hunters. Many of these women are either unattached or married to American men of their own class. Their money will stay in the United States and

* An American billion is one thousand million.

no one doubts that they will exercise a healthy independence in investing and spending it.

Nearly 11 million women told census enumerators in 1930 that they were " gainfully employed." Of this vast number—more than one-fourth of the total job holders in the United States—1,500,000 are classed as professional women : teachers, nurses, doctors, and lawyers in numbers which are approximately equal to professional men !

Salaries of professional women average $1,200 a year, which gives them an annual income very close to 2 billion dollars. The average wages for the remaining 9½ million female workers—secretaries, clerical workers, factory employees, and domestic servants —can be estimated at the conservatively low figure of $500 a year. The total wages paid these women approaches the 5 billion mark. Summing up these figures, it appears that the working women of the United States received nearly 7 billion dollars in " earned income " in 1935.

Putting it fantastically, we might say that in four or five years their wages alone could wipe out the United States' national debt !

Not that anyone expects it to be used in this manner ! No indeed, for the women have very pronounced notions as to how and where they will disburse their money. The simple fact is that women are overwhelmingly dominant in the spending role. Charles M. Schwab once suggested that women should spend their husbands out of the depression, and to give the ladies full credit, they have done their best to follow Mr. Schwab's advice. Not only do they spend what they earn themselves but, what is infinitely more important, they spend the colossal sums which are constantly entrusted to them as housewives and domestic managers.

Consider the enormous amount of money expended on " consumers goods "—roughly, 70 billion a year ! And when you learn that women have the uncontrolled spending of 80 per cent. of this vast amount, it requires no great gifts of penetration to understand why the women of the United States now constitute as a group the greatest single financial force that has ever existed, anywhere, at any time in the planet's history.

It is not too fantastic to imagine, for example, that women of the nation might exert at some future date a very considerable influence in the steel, petroleum, and explosive industries to prevent the

manufacture of war commodities. Even at the present time there is a well developed movement among women stockholders for concerted feminine action in financial matters

" Women must organise," says Catherine Curtis, a leader of the movement, " to protect their investments in the face of jittery man's queer business and legislative antics."

Such organisation may remain for some time in a formative state ; it may never crystallise sufficiently to differentiate the sexes in their common interest in profits. But it requires no prophet to predict that the future economic power of women will be felt chiefly in two ways : as earners of larger salaries, and as more intelligent purchasers of consumer goods.

WHERE GREAT MEN ABOUND

Holders of the Order of Lenin receive a pension of twenty-five rubles a month ; so do those of the Order of the Star, and those of the Order of the Red Flag.

Here, were we to offer a mere twenty francs a year to all the members of the Academy, even the funds provided by the National Lottery would not go far enough to pay them.—*Comoedia*, Paris.

HUSH HUSH IN MOSCOW

We are surrounded by capitalist—and therefore hostile—peoples. We must not forget for a moment that our enemies will attempt to make use of every hole in our apparatus, they will make use of flattery, intrigue, drunkenness, any kind of measure to get at the secrets of our Party and our State.

Every citizen who reveals information to our enemies, however unimportant it may seem, must be punished with the utmost severity. Every Communist must understand, once and for all, that there are no " small " secrets ; the enemy can make use of any information of an economic or defensive character.—*Pravda*, Moscow.

CHILDREN'S TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

A children's telephone exchange, to be operated by children, is being installed at the Moscow Central Park of Culture and Rest. It will carry 80 lines, and connect up all the buildings and institutions of the children's village in the Park. In addition, twenty-five telephone receivers are being installed at different points of the village, each point bearing the name of a well-known town of an important foreign country. The idea is for the children to carry on international conversations over the telephone in the particular language of the country to which they are speaking. The exchange will be operated by fifty active members of the Archimedes Club—a club for youthful inventors.—*Soviet Union Year Book Press Service*, London.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

WHEN TURK MEETS GREEK

SIR,—I have just seen an example of a sincere effort to have peace and one that it seems to me might well be copied by other countries.

A few days ago a Turkish destroyer came into Corfu, as one of her ports of call on a cruise in these waters.

Upon entering the Harbour she saluted twenty-one times and the Fort returned the salute. The usual formalities and calls were paid and returned and during the two days she was here there was constant entertainment for her officers, cadets and sailors.

The last evening the Préfect of Corfu gave a Dinner and large Reception and Ball in honour of the officers and cadets. The sailors were given a dinner in one of the restaurants.

Considering the fact that the last time this particular ship was in Greek waters she bombarded one of the islands, and was on her way to Corfu to give her a little present of ammunition, when she was turned back by one of the Greek destroyers, it seems to me that this is a fine example of the desire for peace. This also shows a Christian and forgiving spirit that other countries and dignitaries of Churches might well copy.

At this Reception the Greeks (who have always been enemies of the Turks, and whenever they have had a war it has been against the Turks), went to special pains to be kind and hospitable to their guests and to see that they enjoyed themselves.

I saw three Greek officers and three Turkish ones sitting together in a circle having a most friendly and enthusiastic conversation. I learned that they were discussing a certain battle of the Balkan War in which they had all taken part—as enemies, of course. One of these Greek officers had had both feet shot off in this particular battle.

I was told on very good authority that the Commander of the ship and the Captain of the Cadets, as well as everyone on board, were very much touched at the kindness and hospitality shown them. It seems—and rightly so—that they were wondering what kind of a reception Corfu would give them, but they did not expect anything like what they received.

I am sure that a thing of this kind will do more toward sealing a real Greco-Turko friendship than any written treaties and alliances will ever do. What do you think, Mr. Bartlett?

ISABELLE ELLINGSON WILLIAMS.

Paris.

SIR,—In connection with the articles published in the July issue of WORLD REVIEW under the heading of "World Air Links," it might interest you to know that on March 22 last "Die Grune Post" of Berlin despatched a letter round the world to prove the efficiency of the World Air Service. The letter travelling via Bathurst, Natal, Miami, San Francisco, the Pacific, Hong-Kong and Calcutta was delivered in Berlin on May 27 (67 days after despatch).

Guildford. C. ADAMS.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

THE POPE IN POLITICS. By William Teeling. *Lovat Dickson.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by George Martelli

Mr. William Teeling is a Catholic who has incurred the displeasure of his co-religionists by writing a book about the head of their Church. That, in itself, is a valuable advertisement. But it is not the only claim to attention of Mr. Teeling. He has travelled in foreign lands, particularly in Germany and Japan, and written about them with sympathy and discernment. In any subject he deals with we are assured of pains-taking industry and sincerity. There is nothing facile, superficial, or propagandist about Mr. Teeling. He gives us the truth, no more and no less, as he sees it.

His book is not a biography of the present Pope. Although there is a brief sketch of the career of Pius XI, it is mainly an account of the political activities of the Vatican under his guidance and of the repercussions on Catholicism generally of the religious, political and social upheavals which have occurred in the world since the last war. During its long history the Papacy has known many ups and downs and it will doubtless survive many more ; but the period from 1914 to the present day has certainly been one of the most trying.

Monseigneur Ratti was elected Pope in February, 1922. He was already a Cardinal and the Archbishop of Milan. An Alpinist of international fame and a scholar of repute, he combined the qualities of man of action and thinker in a rare degree. Courage and energy as well as wisdom were needed to solve the problems which confronted the new Pope. The suppression of religion in Russia, the growth of atheism in so many countries, and the substitution of nationalism for christianity in the totalitarian States—these were the chief, but by no means all, of the difficulties facing the Pontiff and which today, at the age of 80, he is still contending with.

Although he does not conceal his admiration of the personal qualities of Pius XI, Mr. Teeling seems to think that the courage and energy have been more in evidence than the wisdom. Like Hitler, the Pope has always regarded communism as the arch-enemy of morality and civilisation. Mr. Teeling regrets that this obsession with the bogy of bolshevism should have been allowed to diminish the influence of the Vatican in the democratic countries. In particular he sees a real danger of Catholicism in the new world becoming divorced from the old. There are twenty million Catholics in the United States and the number is increasing. The loyalty of these and other western outposts has been severely tested in the last few years by the tendency to identify the policy of the Vatican with that of Fascist Italy. This was particularly marked during the Abyssinian episode.

Mr. Teeling suggests that by concluding the Lateran Treaty with Mussolini the Pope lost more than he gained. He gained a territorial independence and £16,000,000 to boot, in addition to the recognition of Catholicism as the national religion. He was no longer the Prisoner of the Vatican, but he became, perhaps, the hostage of Mussolini. The predilection of Pius XI for Fascism is attributed by the author partly to the authoritarian bent of the Pope's character and partly to his intense patriotism. But national socialism, as is shown by the trouble over the Concordat with Germany, may prove as dangerous an enemy to Catholicism as communism.

By limiting his scope to the Pope's political activities Mr. Teeling has both gained and lost. He has avoided the pitfalls of theological discussion, but the resultant impression is one of incompleteness. For as the author himself admits, the Catholic Church has never found it possible to draw a line between religion and politics. How can any religion, if it is to be a moral force? Had he attempted a straightforward Life of Pius XI Mr. Teeling might have achieved the necessary fusion of the temporal with the spiritual. As it is his book does not quite come off. It is also marred by some rather clumsy writing. It is, nevertheless, full of interesting information and by no means negligible as a contribution to a subject which has been relatively neglected by English authors.

THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

By Norman Angell. *Hamish Hamilton.* 6s.

Reviewed by Sir Roger Chance

There are doctors who have a peculiar talent for diagnosis. Sir Norman Angell, who began young with *The Great Illusion*, is unrivalled in this branch of politics. He says (and who will deny it?) that "more genius (and money) goes to the scientific advertising of cigarettes than to clarifying the major political problems of mankind." This book shows him at his best—clear, concise, ironic. He fastens with sure touch upon the nature of our disease. The recital of its causes, and the suggested cure, will appear less cogent to some of his readers.

The book discusses that momentous and mysterious problem, British foreign policy. Is it compatible, he asks, with the continued security of the British Empire, or with peace? What is the mood that has accompanied it? What alternative policy should be adopted?

The hungry "have-nots" point accusing fingers at the British "Empire," as if they were ignorant (which is probably the case) that it has ceased to be an Empire in the accepted sense of the term. We cannot sell the "Empire," or give parts of it away, even if we would: it is "an association of independent democracies"; there is no part of it "suitable for white colonists where British citizens can now go as of right; no area from which British subjects at times when emigration is most necessary—in times of depression that is—are not excluded as rigidly as they are excluded from any foreign country." Sir Norman Angell does well to expound the implications of the Statute of Westminster, no less than the economic fallacies mixed up with talk on "ownership" of colonies. Dealing successively with the indirect challenge of Manchuria, Abyssinia, the Rhineland, then Spain, he believes that Britain ought to have made the stitch in time to save the nine that are coming to her. In tracing the causes of this "policy," I think he overlooks the difficulty of negotiating with allies, and of persuading a public

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opinion, which regards war with horror, that danger should be tackled at the root. British policy suffers from an inner contradiction. We desire to see justice done, but to defend ourselves at any price.

Defence, and the Crown as symbol of our heritage, hold the British Commonwealth of Nations together. We defend, not so much possessions as democratic freedom and the order that is vital to trade and civilisation. Isolation is not splendid, it is impossible; alliances are no better, says Sir Norman Angell. "For the democratic states of Europe there can be no defence which is not collective defence." This defence must be subject to the rule of law, the necessary change of *status quo* being accomplished by third-party judgment. The alternative is war, which must come if nations insist on remaining judges of their own cause, on defending rights they will not concede to others. He argues for a re-creation of the League, or at least a defensive alliance pledged to the "umpire principle," which would give justice to the "have-nots" on impartial terms.

There can be no doubt that this still, small voice of reason has set forth the logic of the problem. I am not sure that it has penetrated to the heart. There may be grounds for hoping that the democratic states of Europe will accept the renunciation of absolute national sovereignty, which, Sir Norman Angell believes, is the cure for nationalism run mad. Events have shown that even the policy of these States is deep rooted in tempers and instincts more powerful than what appears to be sane. Passion breeds war. Only another passion can supplant it.

THE FRANCE OF M. BLUM

THE FRAMEWORK OF FRANCE. By H. G. Daniels. *Nisbet.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

LÉON BLUM; FROM POET TO PREMIER. By R. L. Stokes. *Jarrolds.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

IT is a misfortune that appreciations of the contemporary European scene and its *dramatis personæ* are increasingly subject to the prejudices of *les deux mystiques*—the two warring, Left *versus* Right, political ideologies. It is equally unfortunate that those who adhere to the "Third ideology"—the gloriously woolly Liberal sentimentalism that makes the whole world of *Times*, *Spectator*, *News Chronicle* and League of Nations Union kin—suffer from pre-conceptions almost as disabling from the angle of historical truth. This is the defect of these two books.

Mr. Daniels, who is—or was—an English journalist in Paris, is handicapped by a violent prejudice against the Left, whose propaganda elicits from him automatically the epithet "subversive"; but he writes of France with personal knowledge, a real understanding of French psychology, and—I should surmise—a genuine desire to be objective and sympathetic even to causes of which he disapproves. His summaries of the problems of Alsace-Lorraine, the security of France and such social questions as the birth-rate, education and the regional tendencies in France, are excellent.

Of Mr. Stokes, who is an American journalist, it is, perhaps, not unfair to say that he has "made" a book about the ex-Premier with singularly little accessible material to his hand. He has assiduously unearthed a modicum of details relating to M. Blum's early life; prints the first published sonnet from his pen; recounts his literary career, his attitude towards *l'affaire Dreyfus*, his relapse into "literature," his final emergence as the Socialist leader struggling to preserve France from the "two bigotries of Communism and Fascism."

Mr. Stokes has brought together a lot of facts concerning a statesman whose antecedents, before the election of 1936, were unfamiliar to most English readers. But the picture of M. Blum which he presents is not a picture "in the round." After reading this book I have no clearer idea than before what sort of man Léon Blum is. Nor do I feel that Mr. Stokes has strengthened my hold on the realities of recent European politics.

For example, of the plan of non-intervention in Spain (whose authorship he attributes exclusively to the ex-Premier) he writes: "It was the first time that democracy in Europe dared look Fascism in the face. . . . The British Cabinet leaped to sustain the French proposal. . . . The brilliance of the move required no further evidence than the embarrassment into which it plunged Germany and Italy . . . Mussolini and Hitler were obliged to concede in effect that they had been outwitted by a novice."

Alas for hero-worship—attractive, if injudicious, characteristic in a biographer—this is a travesty of the facts.

CHANGELESS SPAIN

THE SPANISH COCKPIT. By Franz Borkenau. *Faber & Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by W. HORSFALL CARTER

AT last! Here is a welcome contrast to the tendentious trivia which the civil war in Spain has spawned. Dr. Borkenau's "descriptive scientific field-study of events" is worth all the other books on Spain put together.

"Earl Baldwin inspires Miner Genius."

COALMINER

by G. A. W. TOMLINSON

Preface by

ARTHUR BRYANT

HAROLD NICOLSON, in a long and enthusiastic review in *The Daily Telegraph*, says: "Mr. Baldwin had been struck by this article and had been so kind as to consult me about it. I at once wrote to the author of this article urging him to create a whole autobiography in the same style—In his completed book the author has lived up to the high interest created by the original article which was the nucleus of this remarkable study. A book which I earnestly desire to recommend—I beg you all to read this book. When you have you will feel differently about many things." 7/6 net.

The first choice of the National Book Association

THE ROAD TO MADRID

by CECIL GERAHTY

"Daily Mail" Special Correspondent

SIR CHARLES PETRIE says: "He writes most attractively and he makes the war live for even the most unimaginative—an outstanding contribution." *Illustrated by 26 remarkable photographs.* 8/6 net.

HUTCHINSON

The author's approach is that of the sociologist, concerned not to prove any thesis but to trace the political developments in the loyalist camp, a task for which he is admirably prepared by his profound knowledge of the Labour movement on the Continent. What is, perhaps, more important, Dr. Borkenau knows his Spain, complex, distinctive and essentially refractory to that mechanisation of life which we like to dignify by the name of "progress." Not the least valuable element of the book, therefore, is the evidence he produces to dispel the illusion that the revolutionary development in Spain is simply an incident in the battle of Left and Right, Socialism and Fascism, with which our ears are deafened by half-baked ideologues. *En passant*, Dr. Borkenau even has the courage to admit that the motley crew supporting General Franco cannot properly be described as "Fascist."

Though set in an admirable historical context—Chapter I is a model of background writing—the book is in the main the record of two journeys through Government territory, the first from August 5 to September 14, the second from mid-January to the end of February when a short spell of imprisonment decided the author to get away while the going was good. The diary form has been retained, transcribed, as he modestly says, into "comparatively readable English" from rough notes in German.

The dates are important. For in August and September we see a working-class flushed with victory riding rough-shod over the legal administration and exercising effective control through political and militia committees; yet inhibited from setting up proper soviets

by their own social-revolutionary limitations, and particularly the profound cleavage between socialist and anarchist forces. Already the Communists, up till then without any influence whatsoever in Catalonia, are seen to be making headway, taking advantage of the general unpopularity of the C.N.T., the one genuinely revolutionary trade-union movement in the world. And it is the Communists who are loudest in denying that the new dispensation has any social-revolutionary significance, thus, as the author bitingly says, after for 15 years discovering revolutionary situations where there were none, now refusing to recognise one when it is there !

By November the spontaneous uprising of the people has spent itself, and the atmosphere is one of petty conflicts among the different elements of the Popular Front. Then comes, however, a new and significant phase. Madrid *in extremis* obtains aid from Russia ; the military situation is saved, but also the Communist party is placed in a triumphant position—it is able, in fact, to elbow out the anarchists, suppress the P.O.U.M. and, eventually, to cement its alliance with Left Republican elements so as to supersede Caballero.

A wealth of incident gives pith and point to Dr. Borkenau's eminently sensible conclusions. He notes the absence of any creative political leadership such as consolidated the French and Russian Revolutions. And he attributes it fundamentally to that deepest impulse of the Spanish people which is engaged in a fight not really for social transformation but " for liberty," for the chance of leading its own life in its own way. In seeking to impose European forms and institutions the Communist Party is thus operating directly against the interest and claims of the masses. The rule of a totalitarian bureaucracy is what is actually being built up in Spain, though it may be called parliamentary democracy, and the most unhealthy thing about it is the refusal of the Communists to admit their change of front, owing to their exasperating dogma of infallibility. Nevertheless, the author concludes, in the long run the Spanish people will not stand for it and will resume its own changeless pattern. A successful Republican general would have a good chance of restoring that rule of the army which was the norm before the revolutionary convulsions of the last seven years.

SHORTER NOTICES

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PACIFISM. Edited by Aldous Huxley. *Chatto & Windus.* 6*d.*

" WHAT are you going to do about it ? " asked Mr. Huxley in a recent pamphlet. This appendix, published under the auspices of the " Peace Pledge Union," is a dialectical weapon not less admirably forged. The P.P.U. advocates "disarmament, unilateral if necessary." *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre !*

BELGRADE SLANT. By John D. E. Evans. *Hurst & Blackett.* 5*s.*

THIS is a very clear and readable essay on Yugoslav problems, dealing incidentally with all the Balkans, and most of central Europe. It must be continually borne in mind by the reader, however, that it is, avowedly, written from a prô-Yugoslav point of view, which makes the writer's judgment of the other countries implicated, biassed. Italy is rightly indicted for her Balkan expansionist tendencies ; but Austria, and especially Hungary, are unfairly dealt with. Bulgaria is very fairly treated. The author's main criterion of a European nation is its attitude towards Yugoslavia. These considerations being borne in mind, the book is valuable.

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

THE TALE OF A DESERT

by HARRISON BROWN

Here is something different from our usual travel article—a picture of a petrified forest in Western America from a journalist who is wandering round the world

THERE are parts of the world so overpowering as almost to affect the stature of the visitor. I strayed into such a district recently, alone and unsuspecting.

Unsuspecting because the way to it lay across a desert and there is little in a sage brush desert to arouse enthusiasm. Those of the Eastern part of Washington seem, perhaps, especially tiresome, by reason of the majesty of the Cascade Mountains nearby, and the garden-like quality of the coastwise stretches of the State.

For several hours I had run across desert with nothing in the least remarkable to break the monotony of the dead-straight road. Then, with that startling suddenness which is one of the joys of travel in Western America, the road swung round a bend and I looked from the car down a three hundred foot precipice, with another mighty wall across the canyon. Still falling rapidly, the road swerved round another corner and below lay Colombia River.

The basin of the Colombia is more than three times the area of Great Britain and it is still today one of the world's great rivers. It is being dammed now, to irrigate another desert, by the greatest feat of engineering man has ever attempted, and at a cost so enormous as to exceed by £5,000,000 all that was spent on the construction of the Panama Canal.

Magnificent though the Colombia is throughout its entire twelve hundred miles, it is today a mere trickle when compared to its former size. The stream runs for hundreds of miles through canyons which it has bitten out of the earth's surface. But while that gargantuan meal was in progress it formed the greatest body of fresh water known to geology.

In my small contraption I crossed the present river by a spider-legged steel bridge, with the shadows on the canyon face showing black and white, like the woodcut portrait of a rugged giant. A mile beyond the crossing, in a narrow sage brush gorge, stood a low, rock-built building and a modest sign, "Ginkgo Petrified Forest."

I pulled up and got out, as much in search of water and of rest as out of curiosity to see more petrified trees. Stone "forests" abound throughout

the West ; to the tyro they are all alike and not more than two or three can be wondered at.

Once, when riding on a bus across Nevada, a fellow passenger had been extolling the claims of one such phenomenon down in Arizona. Nevada itself is a curious country, as large as Italy but containing less people than the city of Blackpool. It chanced that the bus-driver was a local patriot and at last he broke into the conversation.

"Say, Brother," the big fellow boomed, "see that mountain over there?" He himself continued to watch the road, the eyes of the rest of us followed his pointing finger. "I could take you one hour the other side of that hill and show you a patrified forest like . . . like . . . ," his mouth worked noiselessly in his search for a simile like that of a fish in a tank—"like Arizona never thought of," he concluded with a rush. And then with a philosophic shrug went on, "but folks down here in this hick town we're coming to don't even know it exists."

It would seem that geologists do not over-advertise their discoveries, for this other great area of Ginkgo is also still unknown to most of the dwellers in Spokane and Seattle, its nearest large cities.

It was a Sunday and a party had driven over in the school bus from some desert village twenty odd miles away. I followed them out into the glaring sunshine again and up the steep winding path. Here and there, often every few yards, the trunk of some fallen forest giant had been partially exhumed. "Black Walnut Log," we would read, "Five Feet in Diameter," or Douglas Fir, or Elm or Maple.

In little round-eyed groups we peered into the holes, and with "Oh's" and "Ah's" moved onwards to the next. The usual dispenser of platitudes was amongst us and some young girls began to giggle. I felt like joining them for it occurred to me suddenly how alike we all were to a herd of cattle, sniffing uncomprehendingly at a motor car parked in a field.

I perched myself on a rock and the group soon wound out of sight. At once there was silence from man-made noises. Endlessly the hills and gullies of the scablands stretched away into the distance ; a pair of buzzards sailed high in the cloudless sky and once a small rattlesnake slithered over the stones down below.

Idly my fingers sifted the dust at my side. Some of it stuck and I glanced where my hand had been grubbing. I was sitting on another prehistoric tree trunk, but an unexcavated one. Splinters lay in my hand and little pieces of fibre, like tooth-brush bristles, had stuck to my fingers.

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I scrabbled around some more and found that the rock upon which I was sitting was half wood, half stone. In this case the age-long process of replacing wood by quartz had been arrested. A little farther was another piece from still another kind of tree, but this was all stone, though it showed the grain perfectly. And then I found chunks of opal and stones of all colours.

They had a drastic effect, these pieces of splinter and rock. They reduced me in a flash to the size and importance of an insect on a steel bar. The steel endures, the insect in twenty-four hours is gone, its existence forgotten.

So, too, seems the switchback story of man's evolution, when one sits in a stone forest. How many millions of us have come and gone and left no footprint while these chips have lain under the soil? What remains of all this babble of "Mongol" and "Nordic," save the wheel and the making of fire? What guarantee that the Gods will not grow impatient again?

"Perhaps," I thought to myself, "cities are born from a sub-conscious desire to forget all these things, the chatter and noise hide our loneliness and we drug ourselves with the illusion of our importance." I remembered the boy I had met in a Labour Camp in the Rockies, a lad just arrived from New York who complained that the silence was "awful" and kept him from sleeping.

For those who feel that way, this country *is* lonely. There is not even the comfort that generations of our own kind have grown used to it, for this section was "unsettled" within living memory. Spokane, it is true, is less than 200 miles away and today is a thriving city with hotels and taxis. But fifty years ago it was a huddle of huts by a waterfall. Less than 100 years ago its site was unknown to the white man. No "lost civilisations" lie buried under this earth. Here turbulent Nature alone has held sway, destroying and creating again on the grand scale.

Long centuries before even the Indians roamed down the river banks, these opal logs were trees and formed a forest here, in this now treeless land. Perhaps the last of the giant reptiles nibbled their waving branches.

It was the Indians who first discovered this fossil forest. They chipped at the outcropping logs for their arrowheads and made trinkets of the more beautiful stones. Petrified wood contains water and is not very hard until exposed to the air. When their "mining" operations brought them to the softer parts of the logs the work was abandoned. It was on such an old working that I had chanced to seat myself; scattered flakes lay around it.

Geologically the Colombia Plateau and the mountains nearby form one of the planet's great dramas, still unwritten and largely unexplored. Few parts of the earth have known more colossal upheavals. None, it appears, has seen deeper layers of ice or more stupendous floods as it melted. And in between were long ages when all must have seemed as permanent as it does nowadays, except that no human beings came to hunt through the country, or map it.

It was in one such period of tranquillity that the "Ginkgo State Park" of now petrified trees was formed, some ten to thirty million years ago. From the fossil remains it is known that the temperature then was much the same as now, but the climate was damper, for in those days, the Cascade Mountains had not appeared to cut off the rain clouds drifting in from the Pacific.

Nearly 200 different species of trees and plants have been identified from the fossils in this place. There are ten

species of maple, nine of oak and eight of walnut alone. Persimmons and figs and tulip trees grew here then, with others which now are found only in the East of the Continent, and others again which grow only in Asia.

Amongst the latter is the Ginkgo, from which the place takes its name. Even in Asia the Ginkgo is known as a freak, for it no longer grows wild in the forests but is found only in Temple grounds. In this area are found the only known petrified specimens of this ancient tree.

Then came upheaval and great seas of lava which razed the forests. When the logs fell or were pushed into water the lava cooled quickly and the wood was preserved from contact with the air without being burnt by the lava.

Over much of this strange territory eruption was intermittent. Devastation swept down in ten or twelve waves at long and irregular intervals. Betweenwhiles were periods so long that the basalt had time to form soil. On these layers grew other great forests, with trees like the Redwoods now only found in California, which require centuries for their growth. Then another lava flow swept upon them and the process began again.

These outpourings of lava were the greatest the North American Continent has known. Only the Deccan Plateau in India and part of south-eastern Brazil can compare with them. More than 100,000 square miles were swept by these floods of molten rock. It is as if gaping wounds had been made and the entrails of Mother Earth had gushed forth.

Then, as if it were yesterday by this reckoning, came the Ice Age, just a few hundred thousand years ago. All the area between the Rockies and the Coast Range of Canada was filled by the Glacier, which in places was 5,000 feet thick and covered all but the highest peaks. As the ice moved it bore with it huge boulders of black basalt, large as houses, to be dropped again, miles away, as the icefield melted. And the melting caused a floodtime without precedent.

Over thousands of miles the fertile top soil was washed away, leaving bare lava rock, the "scablands" of the pioneers. Giant riverbeds were quarried out, to be abandoned later as the waters subsided. The Colombia changed its course and became for a time a swiftly-flowing channel in some places seven miles wide. At the present Dry Falls of Grand Coulee the torrent was three hundred feet deep and plunged over a precipice four hundred feet high on a width of more than three miles.

Some of this water washed the lava from Ginkgo and brought the dead trees again up near the surface. Then, long years after, came the Indians to play with them, when the climate had changed again and the country was desert. Still later the white man made tracks across the desert, then a road by which he could hurry across it more quickly.

And, finally, one of them tarried. He knew about rocks and he lived in the neighbourhood. Mr. George Beck, a local geologist, has identified thousands of specimens and knows that thousands more still remain undiscovered.

Ginkgo State Park is the result of his labours. The public is being introduced while the work of discovery is still in progress, but the outside world has not heard of it yet. One feels there is time. After all the whole history of Man on this planet is scarcely a week in the story of Ginkgo.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

PROSPECTS OF MARKET RECOVERY

by "RAPIER"

When I wrote last month, France was in the throes of a financial crisis which was causing renewed hesitancy in markets. At the time this crisis occurred there was a general tendency to a recovery from the setback caused by the gold scare, the first version of the National Defence Contribution, and the strikes in America. The French crisis has been, temporarily at any rate, resolved. The new French Cabinet under M. Chautemps has taken the right course in freeing the franc from its link to gold and allowing it to find its own level in the foreign exchange market. This step has relieved the strain placed upon the gold reserves of the Bank of France which were being rapidly depleted by export of French capital abroad. But to restore confidence and reverse the flow of capital, M. Bonnet, the Finance Minister, has a more difficult task. First of all he has to balance his Budget and with this end in view has imposed new taxation estimated to yield over £80,000,000. This is a bitter pill for the French to swallow and in more than one direction the new taxes are open to criticism as being tinged with political bias. An imposition of a 100 per cent. tax on speculative exchange profits arising from the recent depreciation of the franc is held to be exorbitant and likely to discourage repatriation of French foreign balances. Similarly, there are doubts of the Government's impartiality from the fact that the lower range of incomes is untouched by the new direct taxes. Moreover, balancing the Budget is not the only problem M. Bonnet has to meet. He must in one way or another raise by borrowing a sum of £200,000,000 to meet capital expenditure and maturing debt, and new capital must also be found for industrial developments. For all these purposes a restoration of financial confidence is essential. Should M. Bonnet fail, the only alternative seems to be an autarchic regime of exchange control which would be a retrograde step for both France and Europe. For the time being, however, the world can only watch with sympathy the efforts of the French to re-establish their finances and suspend judgment until the experiment has had a longer trial.

If it were not for ever-recurring reverberations of the Spanish embroglio, markets again seem set for recovery. The technical position of both Throgmorton Street and Wall Street is sound after the shakeout of the last few months and quotations have no longer the inflated aspect they presented earlier in the year. The *Financial Times* index for industrial securities declined from 143.5 in December, 1936, to 126.7 on July 5 of this year and had recovered to 129

by mid-July. The Dow Jones average for American industrials reached a high point of 194.40 in March this year and declined to 165.5 in mid-June, but by mid-July had recovered to 178·7. It will be seen that the decline in British industrials had set in even before the shocks given to the market by the N.D.C., and by the gold price scare. The American decline was partly due to the gold price scare and later almost entirely to the spread of strikes, especially in the steel industry. The Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, takes the view that Britain's trade revival is set fair for some time ahead and statistical indices appear to confirm this view. If the European political situation shows signs of definite improvement there is likely to be a further recovery in British ordinary shares, but buying will probably be selective. Rising costs are already having their influence on profits and if commodity prices continue to rise there will be further increases in wages, not all of which can be passed on to the consumer.

Wall Street, however, seems to offer greater attractions to the investor than Throgmorton Street, with some reservations. America is about a year behind Britain in trade revival and there is therefore more opportunity for capital appreciation in American stocks than British. For the moment there is a lull in the strike situation and Mr. John L. Lewis, the aggressive Labour leader, seems temporarily to have shot his bolt. On the other hand, the last has by no means been heard of Mr. Lewis and it is possible that there may be a new political lineup in America with President Roosevelt leading a new party composed of Left Wing forces. Such a development would completely split the Democratic Party whose Right Wing would join forces with the Republicans. There would then be two parties more on the lines of the Conservatives and Labour in Britain. So far, however, this issue has not become clear cut. The whole of the present session of Congress has been devoted to the struggle over Roosevelt's proposal for reform of the Supreme Court and practically no legislation has been passed. No new taxes have been voted for the fiscal year which starts on July 1 and Congress will probably be in session until September. This in itself is a bear point for Wall Street, which is always nervous while Congress is sitting. There is also the possibility of labour troubles on the railroads whose workers are demanding a large increase of wages and improved conditions of work. The wages agreement between Mr. Lewis and the General Motors Company also comes up for revision shortly and may prove a difficult matter to settle amicably. Wall Street has ignored the increased dividends declared in the first quarter of the current year and is watching company order books. Production continues to run at a high level but order books have run down. The future of the market depends largely upon whether order books increase or whether production falls to the present level of order books. If there is a continued lull in the strike situation the level of production will probably rise and the market will follow suit.

COMPETITION NO. 6

The Judges regret to report that the entries for Competition No. 6 did not reach a sufficiently high standard and recommend that no Prize should be awarded.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN AND NON-INTERVENTION

June 16. Germany and Italy return to the Non-Intervention Committee and the control scheme following their temporary withdrawal after the *Deutschland* incident.

,, 17. Explosion on board Spanish Government battleship *Jaime I.* Eighteen killed and many injured.

,, 19. Franco's troops enter Bilbao.
German Government allege that torpedoes have been fired at the cruiser *Leipzig* in the Mediterranean.

,, 22. Four Power talks on *Leipzig* incident break down through British and French unwillingness to join in naval demonstration against Spanish Government without preliminary enquiry. Germany and Italy announce " final " withdrawal from naval control scheme.

,, 29. Anglo-French proposals for jointly taking over the ensuing gap in the naval control laid before Non-Intervention Sub-Committee.
Portugal suspends the British observers on her frontier.

July 2. Germany and Italy reject Anglo-French proposals and instead submit scheme for granting belligerent rights while maintaining remainder of control scheme. Britain and France oppose Italo-German scheme.

,, 7. Spanish Government claim 15 mile advance on Madrid front.

,, 9. Full Non-Intervention Committee entrusts Britain with task of finding way out of deadlock.

,, 13. France suspends international observers on Pyrenees frontier.

UNITED KINGDOM

June 17. New National Defence Contribution Bill submitted to Cabinet by Sir John Simon.

,, 22. Bill passed raising M.P.s salaries from £400 to £600.

,, 25. Exchange Equalisation Fund raised from £350,000,000 to £550,000,000.

,, 26. British and American flying boats, *Caledonia* and *Clipper III*, make first Atlantic flight on two-way schedule.

FRANCE

June 20. M. Blum resigns after Senate have refused to vote him plenary powers.

,, 22. M. Chautemps forms a Cabinet.

,, 29. M. Bonnet announces that, with agreement of other signatories of tripartite treaty, Britain and U.S.A., franc is to be freed from control and allowed to find its own level.

,, 30. M. Chautemps is voted full powers to deal with financial crisis.

July 9. Drastic tax decrees issued to raise £84,000,000 of new revenue.

GERMANY

June 17. State funeral for 31 seamen killed by bombing of the *Deutschland.*

,, 21. Baron von Neurath's visit to London postponed.

,, 27. Note sent to Czechoslovakia on alleged maltreatment of German subject, Bruno Weigel, arrested on charge of espionage.

,, 28. International Chamber of Commerce Congress opens in Berlin.

July 1. Dr. Niemöller, Protestant pastor of Dahlem, confessional leader and former submarine commander, arrested.

ITALY

June 21. Expenditure of £130,000,000 over six years approved for public works in Italian East Africa.

,, 28. Italo-Yugoslav trade talks open.

AUSTRIA

July 9. Austro-German conversations to settle questions arising out of 1936 agreement break down.

DANUBE STATES

June 18. Czechoslovak, Rumanian and Yugoslav Premiers meet at Kladovo, Yugoslavia, to discuss relations with Russia and joint policy towards Hungary.

POLAND

June 27. King Carol of Rumania arrives with Crown Prince Michael on visit to cement Rumano-Polish friendship.

U.S.A.

June 17. Board of mediation for steel disputes appointed.

„ 29. Joint statement issued by President Roosevelt and M. van Zeeland, Belgian Premier, on conclusion of latter's economic mission to U.S.A.

RUSSIA

June 21. Soviet airmen accomplish flight over pole to U.S.A.

„ 30. Soviet gunboat sunk in Amur river by Japanese-Manchukuo forces.

July 1. Russia and Japan agree mutually to withdraw troops from disputed islands in Amur river.

PALESTINE

July 7. Report of Palestine Royal Commission published. Palestine and Transjordan to be divided into Jewish state, Arab state and permanent mandate for Holy Places.

INDIA

July 8. Congress Working Committee agree to Congressmen accepting office in Provincial Legislatures.

CHINA

July 8. Martial law proclaimed in Peking after clash between Chinese and Japanese troops.

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